

Prakrit
Narrative Literature
Origin and Growth

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by
Dr. Jagdishchandra Jain



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Preface

After completing the study of the *Vasudevahindi* when I returned from Germany in 1975, I learnt that the Indian Council of Social Science of Research has planned a series of programmes of grants-in-aid with the objective of promoting research in Social Sciences. I submitted my research proposal entitled "The Genesis and Growth of Prakrit Jain Narrative Literature" to the Council which was readily accepted.

Prakrit Jain narrative literature is enormously rich in varied tales, stories and anecdotes of antiquity. The study of how they formed an integral part of this vast literature is fascinating indeed. The variety of richness of motifs incorporated here represent the common origin of story literature and indicate how the development of this literature is linked with international kinship. These tales reflect various social, cultural, economic, political and geographical conditions, including the diversity of customs and habits prevalent in different regions and peculiarities of physical features, temperament and nature of the people. We come across a number of magical beliefs and practices and their relationship with tribal people, the custodians of our primitive past rich in cultural heritage. Indeed these children of the soil have made a significant contribution to the development of Indian society. The worship of trees, animals, birds, mountains and rivers by the primitive people, the nature of worship, their popular deities, rituals and practices, feasts and festivals are all included here. The secular aspect of Prakrit Jain narrative literature is no less significant. Treatises were composed not only on medicine, astrology, astronomy, music and archery but they included other popular topics like personal hygiene, cooking, gardening, testing of coins and precious stones, the science of horses and elephants and birds and animals. The study is also very useful from the point of the development of Indo-Aryan languages. The research covers a wide range of 2000 years, from the 6th century BC to the 15th century AD. A cultural history of India is yet to be written taking into account the chronological order of successive changes that

had taken place from time to time—very different from merely piling up historical events. Only then can we co-relate the past with the present of Indian society.

The author thankfully acknowledges the financial assistance received from the ICSSR towards the completion of the project. However, the facts stated and opinions expressed are entirely that of the author. The Ramnarain Ruia College, Bombay, which has been the venue of my research work and which I have always considered as my own; has provided me with the facilities for research. Dr. B A. Kulkarni, the outgoing Principal and professor K.N. Valsangkar, the present principal of the College deserve my thanks.

Dr. Kashinath Pakrasī of the Ramnarain Ruia College, in spite of of his preoccupation, was kind enough to read through my MSS and offer valuable suggestions. My daughter Kalpana Sharma, who happened to visit India on a long vacation, went through the typed script painstakingly. She has also assisted in preparing the index. The project would not have been completed without the active assistance of my son Subodh. I must make a mention of my wife Kamalshri with whom I often discussed my findings. The map has been drawn with the technical assistance of Madhukar Sharma and Anil Jain. My thanks are due to Shri Devendra Jain for the interest he has taken in publishing this work, in my absence from India.

São Paulo, Brazil
1 June 1981

Jagdishchandra Jain

Abbreviations

<i>A History</i>	A History of Indian Literature
<i>Ācā.</i>	Ācārāṅga
<i>Anta.</i>	Antagaḍadasāo
<i>Anu.</i>	Anuyogadraāra
<i>Anuttaro.</i>	Anuttarovavāīya
<i>Āva Cū.</i>	Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi
<i>Āva. Nir.</i>	Āvaśyaka Niryukti
<i>Āva. Vṛ.</i>	Āvaśyaka Vṛtti (Haribhadra)
<i>Bhag. Ārā.</i>	Bhagavati Āradhanā
<i>BK</i>	Bṛhatkathā
<i>BKK</i>	Bṛhatkathākośa
<i>BKM</i>	Bṛhatkathāmañjarī
<i>BKŚS</i>	Bṛhatkathāślokaśaṅgraha
<i>BHBH</i>	Bhavabhāvanā
<i>Bṛh Bhā.</i>	Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya
<i>Com.</i>	Commentary
<i>Das. Nir.</i>	Daśavaikālika Niryukti
<i>Das Cū.</i>	Daśavaikālika Cūrṇi
<i>DSMV</i>	Dharmopadeśamālā-vivaraṇa
<i>HOS</i>	Harvard Oriental Series
<i>fn.</i>	footnote
<i>Jain. Agam.</i>	Jain Agam Sahitya men Bhartiya Samaj
<i>Jambu.</i>	Jambuddivapannatti
<i>JHP</i>	Jinasena's Harivaṃśapurāṇa
<i>Jivā</i>	Jivābhigama
<i>JSBI</i>	Jain Sahitya ka Bṛhad Itihas
<i>Kahārayaṇa</i>	Kahārayaṇakosa
<i>KSS</i>	Kathāsaritsāgara
<i>Kumāra.</i>	Kumāravālapaḍiboha
<i>KVLM</i>	Kuvalayaṃālā
<i>LAI</i>	Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jain Canons

MBH	Mahābhārata
MKH	Majjhimakhaṇḍa
MW	Monier-Williams's Sanskrit-English Dictionary
Nāyā.	Nāyādhammakahāo
n	note
Niryā.	Niryāvaliyāo
Ogha Nir.	Ogha Niryukti
Omens.	Omens and Superstitions of Southern India
Ovā.	Aupapātika
Nisī. Sū.	Nisītha Sūtra
Nisī. Cū.	Nisītha Cūrṇi
Paṇha.	Paṇhavāgarapāim
Panna.	Paṇṇavaṇā
Pārśva	Pārśvanāthacarita
Parī.	Parīṣiṣṭaparvan
Pī.	Pīṭhikā
Pinda. Nir	Piṇḍa Niryukti
PJKS	Prakrit Jain Katha Sahitya
PSI	Prakrit Sahitya ka Itihas
PSM	Pāiyasaddamahanṇavo
Rāya.	Rāyapaseṇiya
Sama.	Samavāyāṅga
Samarā.	Samarāiccakahā
Śatru.	Śatruṅjaya
Sū.	Sūtra
Śuka.	Śukasaptatī
Surasundarī	Surasundarīcarīya
Sūya.	Sūyagaḍaṃ
Sūrya.	Suriyapannatti
Ṭhā.	Ṭhāṇaṅga
Ṭī.	Ṭīkā
Taraṅga.	Taraṅgalolā
TŚP	Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacarita
The Ocean	The Ocean of Stories
The Vasudeva	The Vasudevahinḍī—An Authentic Jain Version of the Bṛhatkathā
Uttara. P.	Uttarapurāṇa

<i>Uttarā. Vr.</i>	Uttarādhyayayan-ā Vṛtti (Nemicandrasūri)
<i>Upadeśa.</i>	Upadeśapada
<i>Vetāla.</i>	Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā
<i>Vinoda</i>	Vinodakathāsaṅgraha
<i>Vivā.</i>	Vivāgasūya
<i>Viyāha.</i>	Viyāhapannatti (Bhagavati)
<i>VH</i>	Vasudevahiṇḍi
<i>Vyā. Bha.</i>	Vyavahāra Bhāṣya

CHAPTER 1

Prakrit Jain Tales—Their Growth and Development

Prakrit Jain narrative literature has elements of folklore that can best be appreciated by approaching the stories without any preconceived notions. In the stories we see quite clearly how the tales which have been handed down from one generation to another have been transferred and adapted to suit the conditions of the time. "These stories" remarks Maria Leach, "are used as media for expressing new feelings and thoughts which must be assimilated to the old traditions and ways of life." Further, "an animal story or a parable may receive a new twist which reflects a shift in evaluation almost too subtle to be caught or a timely expression of public opinion may be repeated and passed from village to village only to disappear completely when its interest is over."¹ In these tales the narrator uses the elements from nature such as magic sorcery, spirits, ghosts, animals, birds, and so on. The story-teller while narrating a story, repeats, exaggerates and dramatises his narration in order to fascinate his audience. He talks of flying in the air, walking on the surface of water, immunity to deadly poison, invincibility of a hero, raising the dead to life, carrying water in a sieve, choosing a king by divine will, treasure-hunt in an island, transportation of traders by birds to an island full of precious stones, transmission of messages by parrots, swans or pigeons, the curse cast by an ascetic, miraculous cures by sprinkling water, touch of hand or uttering prayers, turning of snake into a garland of flowers, subduing an elephant by means of an upper garment, magical impregnation, change of sex and so on. These are some of the set patterns which add to the efficacy of a story creating a grip on the audience, William R. Bascom has remarked, "Folklore reveals man's frustrations and attempts to escape in fantasy from repression imposed upon him by society, whether these repressions be sexual or otherwise and whether they

¹*Standard Dictionary*, I, 61.

result from taboos or incest or polygamy, or from a taboo on laughing at a person afflicted with yaws."¹ He adds, "Folklore is an important mechanism for maintaining the stability of culture. It is used to inculcate the customs and ethical standards in the young, and as an adult to reward him with praise when he conforms, to punish him with ridicule or criticise when he deviates, to provide him with rationalisation when the institutions and conventions are challenged or questioned, to suggest that he be content with things as they are, and to provide him with a compensatory escape from the "hardships, the inequalities, the injustices."² Sexual symbolism, which plays an astonishing part in the customs and beliefs in folklore, for example, can be analysed in the words of E.D. Philips. He writes, "The underlying idea here appears to be that if only the person could dare to prove himself that he could commit incest, symbolically of course, without the dreaded punishment ensuing, that very impunity would be the best reassurance imaginable against his fears. . . . These findings are dedicated by the desire to free the personality from guilt, from punishment and from misfortune, and thus to restore the innate faculty of potency and fertility, in short, to ensure happiness."³ These stories also possess an element of subtle humour which shows that our ancestors' life was full of vitality. Humour being an integral part of the story, helps to cause dissolve the social segregation. After all the health of a society depends on its capacity to laugh at itself. In the Chastity motif, as we shall see in the following pages, fidelity on the part of either partner gives a humorous turn to the whole episode. A woman asking her three daughters to give a kick to their husbands at the first meeting, is another such example. In the Motif of Choice by Divine Will, the horse stops in front of a robber, who was going to be prosecuted, and he is consecrated as a king. Riddles play no less an important role in creating humour. Here we meet rogues and knaves who make us laugh and create amusement. We are told how story-telling really removes fatigue, and how a person wears his shoes while wading through the water and carries them in hand while walking on the land, or he opens his umbrella when seated under a tree and carries it on his shoulders while walking in summer.

¹Alan Dundes, *The Study of Folklore*, 290.

²*ibid*, 298

³*ibid*, 102.

INDIA—A LAND OF TALES

India has been called a land of fairy tales and fables where people had been fond of telling stories which they looked upon as sacred. The climatic condition such as warm temperature giving rise to laxity in habits, associated with the exclusion of women in cool evenings, has been called a great impulse for the popularity of story-telling in India.¹ As far as the story literature is concerned, India has played no insignificant roles in the history of world literature, though all the stories traced outside India are not of Indian Origin. As all men have to pass through similar social, physical and geographical conditions, through the stages of savagery, barbarism and civilisation, in the same way, similar ideas, beliefs and tales appear at more than one time and place. It means that there cannot be only one centre where a particular story originated, but there were many centres. There were certain myths or riddles which did not arise independently at different places but the same idea arose at one place or a very few places and then spread by diffusion to other places. This diffusion has taken place by borrowing or transmission which continued steadily from historic times.² Richard M. Dorson has pointed out in this connection, "Everywhere the same beliefs, and survival of beliefs manifested themselves; primitive man ascribed spirits to the trees, animals and the elements, he worshipped the animal protector of his clan, he credited the shaman with powers of transformation. Myths and fairy tales continually reveal the concepts of animals, totamism, festischism, so far they hark back to the stage of culture when men did not sharply distinguish between the human and the natural world."³

Giving a survey of Indian tales, Maurice Bloomfield has observed: In India more than in any other country entire stories or story traits go on repeating themselves. Many legends of entire Vedic period reappear in epic, in drama or in other story books. A new current in didactic and parabolic stories is represented in the *Pañchatantra* and the *Jātaka* tales. This trend is reflected in Buddha-ghoṣa's commentaries and *Avadāna* literature. Side by side we have

¹The *Ocean of Stories*, I, Introduction, p. xxxvi.

²Alan Dundes, op. cit., 53f, J.A. Macculloch, *The Childhood of Fiction*, 454

³Alan Dundes, op. cit., 66.

Jain stories in the commentaries of Jain authors. Daṇḍin, Bāṇa and Subandhu have composed stories in a highly ornate style of rhetoric. Among more secular literature of fiction we have *Brhatkathā* and its various recensions. Then *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā*, *Vikramacarita* and *Śukasaptati* can be mentioned. They are followed by *Caritas* and *Prabandhas*, particularly by prolific Jain Writers.¹ These traits of new feelings and thoughts in place of old forms and symbols continue to occur even in Sanskrit, Apabhraṃśa, Old Hindi and Old Gujarati literature. Innumerable tales and stories have been composed by Indian writers from ancient times. It has been stated that listening to stories is a meritorious act which leads to purgation of sins. The author of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā* has noted: "The narration or listening to even a part of stories incorporated in his work, fulfils the desired object, and the narrator or the listener becomes free from sins and is not afflicted by evil spirits."² The narration of a secular tale is said to have cured disease. It is a kind of purging of emotions as described by Aristotle. Story-telling relieves a person from fatigue. We are told of a story of two persons, who were travelling on foot. When one of them was fatigued, his fellow-traveller asked him whether he could carry him on his back. He replied, "One who tells interesting stories to the person made tired by walking, really carries him on the back." Then they went on telling stories to each other.³ In the absence of a written record, much of the ancient story literature has been lost to us, and we have to be content with whatever remains. Bloomfield has pointed out: "The beginnings of fictional ideas are not revealed by existing literature, and are doubtless with primitive folklore ideas of which we have no record. The so-called folk-lore books of India of which we have some sixty or more are certainly not mythogenic."⁴ It is well-known that the *Brhatkathā*, a great storehouse of Indian tales and

¹On Recurring psychic Motifs in Hindu Fiction, and the Laugh and Cry Motif, *JAOS*, 36, p. 54

²25, p. 222 cf. Arabs are excited by romantic tales and eloquence with them is a lawful magic, *Arabian Nights*, I, 63f

³*Vashudevahinī*, 208, 23-29, *The Vasudeva*, 367-69, also *Brhatkathākośa*, 55-53, *Vetāla*, Introduction, p. 4. Story telling, music and gentle kneading of the flesh relieves a person from sleeplessness and restlessness, *Arabian Nights*, II, 442, Note 1

⁴*The Ocean*, VII, Foreword, xxiii.

'full of wonderful meaning', has been lost to us. It is noteworthy that the tales of this secular popular work have been assimilated by Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa writers. The *Vasudevahiṇḍī* of Saṅghadāsagaṇī Vācaka and the unpublished *Majjhimakhinḍa* of Dharmasenagaṇī Mahattara are important examples where the whole story of Naravāhanadatta's adventures described in the *Bṛhatkathā* has been put in the mouth of Kṛṣṇa's father, Vasudeva.

POPULARITY OF STORY-TELLING

Kathakas or story-tellers have been associated with jesters, ballad singers, bards and others who entertained people by employing various feats. They gathered at a city-garden, grove or a sacred shrine¹ and entertained people by narrating tales and anecdotes.² They were employed to massage the king's body and tell him amusing stories till he fell asleep. A king was fond of listening stories and summoned his subjects for this purpose.³ Another king passed his nights with the queen who captivated his heart by narrating fascinating tales. It is said that his newly-married-queen, who was clever in the art of story-telling, retained him for six months.⁴ Parrots are said to have narrated interesting tales. We are told of a parrot who fearing death, narrated 500 tales related to a barber woman, fisher woman, a merchant's daughter and so on.⁵ There have been witty stories, humorous stories and the stories related to wise people, artless simple fools, rogues and scoundrels (*mugdhakathā*), instructing how a person, desirous of success in life should remain alert and guard himself from their victimisation. People were warned against the activities of evil-minded persons who artfully deceived good and virtuous men.⁶ It has been stated that if a minister's son is ignorant of local dialects and usages and has not learnt political science, he is stupid and is deceived by rogues and knaves at every step.⁷ The poet

¹ *Aupapātika*, 2.

² *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya*, 1.2564.

³ *Pīṭhikā*, 7 3 18.185.

⁴ *Āvaśyaka Cūṛṇī*, II, 57-60 cf. the Shaharzade story in *The Arabian Nights*

⁵ *Āva Cū.*, 384

⁶ *VH*, 57, 6-7, *The Vasudevahiṇḍī—An Authentic Jain Version of the Bṛhatkathā*, 370.

⁷ *Bhavabhāvanā*, I, 59,

Kṣemendra (11th century AD) has remarked in his *Kalāvīlāsa* : "The innocent people, born in rich families, ignorant of the worldly wisdom, go up and down at the mercy of knaves like a playing ball."¹ Dāmodara Gupta (8th century AD) exhorts readers to study his poetic composition so that they remain free from the hold of knaves, cheats, prostitutes and procuresses.² There is a story of a villageman and a townman. A certain Villageman loaded his cart with rice and having tied on a cage with a partridge to it, set out for trade. As he was passing through a city, the sons of a perfumer approached him inquiring if he was willing to sell the partridge tied to his cart.³ The cartman replied in affirmative and demanded one *kārṣāpana* as its price. The perfumers paid him the money, took away both his cart as well as the partridge and went away. The poor cartman beseeched them why they were taking away his cart, but it was of no avail. The villageman felt extremely unhappy without his cart; he thought of a device. He came to the perfumer's house and said, "O master! you have taken away my cart loaded with goods, now you take away this ox too. In exchange please give me two *pālīs* of barley flour. I shall be pleased to have it from your mother nicely dressed." The perfumer agreed to the cartman's proposal. The mother appeared with the barley flour and the villageman caught hold of her and walked off.⁴

There is another story of four wonders. Candana's wife refused to nurse her new-born child. With downcast eyes she explained to her husband, that from her childhood she had taken a vow not to let any other man touch her except her own husband. One day when Candana was busy in selling wheat grain at his shop he came across a pious Brahman, who was passing that way with sacred grass in his hands and sprinkling the earth with water. At this time a straw of grain, blown by a gust of wind, became tangled in his matted hair. The merchant quickly tried to remove the straw from his hair, but the Brahman protested making the merchant to wait for a moment as he was going to cut off his head as a punishment for committing a theft of his straw. Candana was deeply impressed by his piety and truthfulness. The merchant took the holy man home

¹ 18, 19, Somadeva, *Yaśastilaka*, 2, 145

² 1059

³ The word *Sagaḍa-tittiri* can also be interpreted as the cart as well as the partridge

⁴ *VH*, 57, 9-58, 4, *The Vasudeva*, 618-620.

where he offered him food and betel. In course of time, at Candana's repeated request the Brahman started living in his house. After some time the merchant requested the Brahman to look after his home in his absence, and set out for a journey. As he was going along, on his way he noticed a small bird sitting on a branch of a tree. When the other birds left their nests in search of food, this little bird would quietly fly to their nests and eat up the unguarded eggs and fly back to its branch and sit innocently. Going further, he witnessed a *sādhu* preaching a young princess about the virtues of truth and renunciation. But Candana was horrified to notice that the same *Sādhu* removed her jewels, strangled her and threw her in a ditch. When Candana returned home, he felt wiser and recited the following verse to himself:

The woman does not kiss her own child,
the Brahman prepares to cut off his own head,
the bird sits expressionless as a piece of wood,
the *sādhu* preaches non-violence to a princess;
Ah! I have seen these four wonders with my own eyes,
and now tell me, can anyone be trusted?¹

The Bharatadvātrīṃśikā (existed before 492 AD), one of the most amusing collection of *mugdhakathās*, probably composed by a Jain writer, according to Hartel, is an early work of the *Pañchātāntra*-type. It narrates the tales of various types of fools and stupid fellows including debauchers, imposters, swindlers and liars. According to the author, "Those who are desirous of the highest and should

¹*Bhavabhāvanā*, 438, pp. 598-560. For its English rendering see 'The Betrayal,' *Gift of Love*. The following stories can be read in this connection. (i) The Story of Mūladeva, the Leader of Knaves (*Āva. Cū*, 549, *Upadeśapada* Commentary 92, p. 64, *BKM*, under *Viṣamaśīl-aprakaraṇa*, cf. *Śuka* (4) (ii) A Crafty Weaver (*Āva. Cū*, II, 56) (iii) A Tricky Friend (*Āva. Cū.*, 551), cf. the story of 'Dharmabuddhi and Pāpabuddhi' and 'Iron Scale of Jīrpadhana Merchant' in the *Pāñcātāntra* (*Mitrabheda*). (iv) Two merchants (*Āva. Cū*, 523-24) (v) A Foolish Boy (*Āva. Cū*, 110-111) (vi) A Stupid Pupil (*Vinoda-Kathāsaṅgraha*, 26). All these stories are rendered into Hindi in the author's *Prakrit Jain Katha Sāhitya*, pp. 58-68. (vii) A Knave and a Cucumber-Seller (*Āva. Cū.*, 546); cf. with *Vinoda*, 39, *Sukasaptati*, 55. (viii) A Dishonest Priest (*Āva. Cū*, 550). For Hindi rendering of these stories see the author's *Do Hazār Baras Purāṇī*, 1965 (Stories 17 and 18).

enhance their knowledge of good behaviour which can be cultivated by reading these tales. The tales have been invented to expose the behaviour of fools and knaves so that the readers can guard themselves against them."¹ Rājasekhara Maladhārī's (middle of the 14th century AD) *Vinodakathāsaṅgraha*, also known as *Kathākośa*, incorporates a number of these tales. 'A Tortoise and a Monkey,' 'Day Dreamer,' 'Father and Son with their Bull,' 'Deaf Family' and others are some popular stories of this work. In the 'Story of a Crow,' a crow employing a false witness, wants to take a female swan for its wife. Though the story is fabricated and such stories are not allowed for the sake of religious propaganda, yet according to the author, he has included it in his composition for enlightening his readers.²

The 'Textus Simplicior' of the *Pañcatantra* is assigned to a Jain writer. The *Pañcākhyāna* or *Pañcākhyānaka* of Pūrṇabhadrasūri (1199 AD) made the old *Pañcatantra* popular not only in India but also outside, including Indo-China, Indonesia and other places. "The work in its different forms became so popular that in course of time, the readers, including Jains, completely forgot its Jain origin."³ Winternitz has stated that the author has used Prakrit works and a number of popular stories from unknown sources in his composition.⁴ The *Kathāratnākara* of Hemaviṣayagaṇi (1600 AD) in Sanskrit prose is another interesting popular work which is interspersed with stories in Maharashtra Prakrit, Apabhraṃśa. Old Hindi and Old Gujarati. Most of the narratives contained here are similar to those of the *Pañcatantra* (c. 3000 BC).

The story of king Vikramāditya has been assimilated by Jains making him a follower of the Jain faith.⁵ The *Simhāsanaadvāitśikā* (not earlier than the 11th century AD) is another popular work, not available in its original form. The Jains exploited its popularity, and Kṣemankaragaṇi, a Jain author, has considerably enlarged it, and

¹Introduction to story 1

²Story 59

³Hertel, *On the Literature of Śvetambaras of Gujarat*, 8

⁴*A History of Indian Literature*, III, 1, 324 For the section 'The *Pañcatantra* in its oldest form', see pp 307-321

⁵See H D. Velankar, Vikramāditya in Jain Tradition, *Vikrama Volume*, Sindhiyā Prācya Parishad, Ujjain, 1948, pp. 637-70

this is supposed to be the best preserved edition of the work.¹ The original text of the *Veṭālapañcaviṃśatikā* is no more extant though like the *Pañcatantra* it has a wide currency in world literature. Its stories have found entry into Prakrit Jain literature.² Simhapramoda, (1545 AD), a Jain writer, has been mentioned as an author of the *Veṭālapañcaviṃśatikā*.³ The *Śukasaptati* was equally popular with Jains. The original text of this work is lost and the available Sanskrit version is of very late origin. Some of its stories are found in Prakrit Jain works.⁴ Ratnasundarasūri (1581 AD), a Jain, has been mentioned as an author of the *Śukasaptatikā* or *Śukadvāsaptatikā*.⁵ A number of Prakrit and Sanskrit Jain works have recorded parrot stories. We have already mentioned how the story of the *Brhatkathā* has been exploited by Jains for the purpose of propagating their religious sermons. Besides Sanghadāsagaṇi and Dharmasenagaṇi, the names of Jinasena, Guṇabhadra, Maladhāri Hemacandrasūri, Hemacandra, Puṣpadanta, Tiruttakadevara and others can be mentioned, who utilised the contents of this great novel in their Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhramśa and Tamil writings in different contexts.

As far as the writing of narrative literature is concerned, Buddhists also did not lag behind. They have produced marvellous narrative literature in the form of the *Jātaka* tales, *Aṭṭhakathās* and the *Avadāna* literature, though it is noteworthy that like Jains, they do not claim to have composed the *Pañcatantra*-type of literature, nor have they made attempts to exploit the contents of the much popular *Brhatkathā* of the celebrated Guṇāḍhya. Pointing out the main difference between the Buddhist and Jain stories, Hertel has observed that Buddhists could change any popular story just by introducing a

¹Winternitz, op. cit., 371. For a comparative study of the Jain recensions of this work, see Franklin Edgerton, *Vikrama's Adventure*.

²Compare the story of 'Three Wooers of a Girl' in the *Veṭāla* (No. 5 and 2) and the *Āva. Cū.*, (II, 57-60), Jarl Charpentier, *Pacceka Buddha-Geschichten*, 135ff

³Velankar, *Jinaratnakosa*, 365

⁴Compare Story No. 15 in the *Śuka* with the story of the *Daśavaikālika Cūrṇi* (88-91), Story No. 4 in the *Śuka* with the story of the *Āva. Cū.*, 549, and the *Upadeśa*, 92 Commentary, Story No. 26 in the *Śuka* with the story of the *Upadeśa*, (100, pp. 68a-69); Story No. 39 and 50 in the *Śuka* with the story of *Āva. Cū.* (551) Also see *Prakrit Sahitya Ka Itihās*, pp. 59, 74, 62.

⁵Velankar, op. cit., 386.

Bodhisattva out of some human, animal or divine being in the story, whereas Jains tried to preserve the story in its original form, simply by adding a moral at the end. Therefore in his opinion "Jain stories are much more reliable sources of folklore than the stories handed down in the books of the Bauddhas."¹

FUNCTIONS OF TALES

As has been indicated, folklore deals with simple wishes and fears of the people and has very little to do with elaborate philosophical, spiritual or artistic speculations. It is a world which goes back to an early religious setting where people live together with fabulous beings and think of the real world as insecure and unstable. Here people are concerned mostly with different facets of personal welfare such as the acquirement of fertility, preservation of health and freedom from disease, danger and death.² A story centres around a hero who is described as resolute, earnest and noble-minded. He has a miraculous birth and flowering growth and comes out victorious in a battle. He passes through a series of adventures in which supernatural elements play a conspicuous part and ultimately attains his goal of leading a glorious life. Characterising 'the hero tradition' Lord Raglen has aptly remarked, "The hero never goes to war, never extends the boundaries of his kingdom, never builds anything at all. The only memorial of his reign, apart from the traditional story of the events which begin and end it, is the traditional code of laws which is often attributed to him. As a fact, however, a code of Laws is always the product of hundreds or thousands of years of gradual development, and is never in any sense the work of one man . . . The hero of tradition, unlike the hero of the fairy tale and many heroes of history, ends his career by being deposed, driven from his kingdom and mysteriously put to death. . . One very puzzling feature which is that the hero is never actually defeated in a fight"³ Folklore can be fully understood through knowledge of culture of the people. Characterising most common functions of folklore, C.W. Von Sydow writes, "They include aiding in the education of the young, promot-

¹Hertel, op cit, 7-8, Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, II, 114

²See Elwin, *The Muria and their Ghotul*, 222

³Alan Dundes, op cit, 155.

ing a group's feeling of solidarity, providing socially sanctioned ways for individuals to act superior to or to ensure other individuals, serving as a vehicle for social protest, offering an enjoyable escape from reality and converting dull work into play. . . One of the most important single function of folklore is permitting action that is usually not approved. There are in every culture words that should not be spoken and deeds that should not be done."¹

Jain authors employed all types of fables, fairy tales, stories, anecdotes, riddles and so on from the rich storehouse of popular folktales. These tales centred around the life of common people such as farmers, manual workers, menials, slaves, jugglers, thieves, swindlers, knaves, prostitutes, bawds, traders, sea-faring merchants and others "Those tales and stories had been in existence among the people long before they found entry into literature and they found their place first of all in Prakrit literature."² Winternitz has asserted that the Jains have been able to preserve numerous Indian tales which otherwise would have been lost to us.³ One important thing about these folktales to be noted is that they were very simple, endowed with the secular elements, therefore no 'morals' were implicated in them. A story-teller simply narrated how things happened around him, he emphasised certain events and put them in a dramatic manner making the audience spell-bound. As these stories were free from sectional or regional element, they could be accommodated by any religious teacher or country. But as we shall see later, in course of time, the ancient beliefs and traditions preserved in the form of animal and other tales, were transformed into the tales of morality. The essential element is the narrator-audience relationship which takes a literary form in course of time, becoming didactic due to the new demands of the social situation. These stories are noticed in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Tantrākhyāyikā*, the *Jātaka* tales, the *Bṛhatkathāślokaśaṅgraha*, the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, the *Vasudevahindī* and numerous other published and unpublished Prakrit Jain works which are yet unknown to readers.

ANIMAL TALES

To a tribal people dwelling in jungles, wild animals mean a lot more

¹Alan Dundes, op cit, 277

²Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, III, I, 302.

³Winternitz, Jains in Indian literature, *Indian Culture*, July 1934-April, 1935.

than they do to us. Their knowledge of the animal world is preserved in ancient beliefs in the form of animal tales in folk literature. There are stories of grateful animals, who speak and talk like human beings, and have friendly relations with men.¹ About these tales Maria Leach has observed: "An animal tale is one of the oldest forms, perhaps the oldest of the folklore, and found everywhere on the globe at all levels of culture. At its simplest, the animal tale is an attempt to explain the form and habits of several animals, a fruitful source of material for the primitive story-teller. These stories underlie the mythologies of various peoples, as is evidenced by animal attributes of a many gods in their pantheons."² In an animal tale animals appear as characters talking and behaving like human beings, usually keeping their animal trait. They are symbols of mankind and are opposed to animals of fairy tales with supernatural powers. This technique of the device of animal characters is familiar to us in the works like the *Pañcatantra*, the *Hitopadeśa*, the *Aesop Tales* and so on. In general, the animal characters of these stories are not moral beings. The lesson of these more primitive animal stories is more realistic than moralistic. Later, in order to make their religious sermons more lively, Jain writers exploited numerous such tales in their compositions, as stated earlier.

TYPES OF STORIES

Stories are divided into two categories realistic and imaginary: The former is based on a narrative which is either seen, heard of personally experienced, either pertaining to righteousness (*dharma*), attainment of wealth (*artha*) or desire for sensual enjoyments (*kāma*), the latter is a product of imagination.³ The traditional division of stories is related to *dharma*, *artha*, or *kāma*. Elsewhere preference is given

¹These stories according to Elwin, can be cited as interesting examples of the influence of the doctrine of *Ahimsā* on the minds of Indian aborigines, *Folk Tales of Mahakoshal*, 396.

²op cit, 1, 61

³*The Vasudeva*, pp 368-69, *VH*, 208, 30-209, 4, in the *Brhatkathāśloka-saṅgraha*, (XXI 13-21) five kinds of themes of narration have been mentioned virtue (*dharma*), richness (*artha*), happiness (*sukha*), beatitude (*nirvāna* and cure (*cikitsā*).

to *artha* over *dharma* followed by *kāma*.¹ Haribhadrāsūri goes even further by placing *dharma* last of all in the list of virtues.² The idea seems to be that first of all, one should attain worldly prosperity, then enjoy worldly pleasures and finally concentrate on the cultivation of a virtuous life. However, Udyotanasūri in his *Kuvalayamālā* has reversed the order placing *dharma* above *artha* and *Kāma*. The author calls his work primarily a *dharmakathā*, though it has become *saṅkīrṇakathā* or mixed story owing to its varied context. The *dharmakathā* has been divided into four types: *ākṣepiṇī* (pleasant or catching), *vikṣepiṇī* (unpleasant or distracting), *saṃvegajanani* (leading to knowledge or enlightenment) and *nirvedaajanani* (leading to detachment or renunciation). It is to be noted that though primarily the work deals with religious stories, the author has also treated "the topics connected with the science of erotics, and that is not without purpose as such topics are considered conducive to religious life."³

EROTIC STORIES

It is significant to note that the Jain authors did not favour any contact with women at all, and indulgence in love stories "flaming with the sentiment of sexual passions, blazing with infatuation and exciting the audience"⁴ have been condemned in Jain texts. But such stories could not be ignored altogether as they were fascinating to the people. It is true that Jains and Buddhists employed tales and stories as a means of imparting religious sermons to their adherents, but they had to be made interesting and lively if the real purpose was to be served. If a forceful appeal was to be made to common people, some 'sugar-coated pill' had to be administered. Rājasekhara Maladhāri records the story of a merchant, who in order to save his son from bad company, entrusts him to the care of a Jain monk, but the monk is not able to guide him properly. The father tries out another monk but without success. The third monk makes his sermons attractive by employing fascinating love stories in his discourse. As a result the boy accepted religious vows and the

¹*Thānanga*, (3.189)

²*Samarā*, Introduction, p. 3; also *Daśavaikālika Nirvyūṭi* (3.188) commentary 106.

³4, 15.24; 5, 11-13; also A.N. Upadhyay, Introduction, 22f.

⁴*Das Nir.*, 3.212.

desired object was achieved.¹

Dharmasenagaṇi Mahattara, the author of the *Majjhīmakhaṇḍa*, keen to make his work delightful to his readers, affirms that the people listening to popular love stories such as those of Nahuṣa, Nala, Pururava, Naravāhanadatta and others, take so much exclusive delight in them that even the desire of listening to religious stories is not sustained in them. Therefore he proposes: "As a physician administers his own nectar like medicine to an unwilling patient under the pretext of giving what the patient desires, so should a virtuous story be told under the pretext of a love story.² The *Kuvalayamālā*, though a religious story, is compared to a newly wedded bride in form and beauty; such a story, the author says, should be listened to most attentively.³ Haribhadrāsūri in his *Samarāṇicakāhā* depicts the character of the hero-prince and his friends totally engrossed in sexual life. They admire the drama, discuss the science of erotics, enjoy paintings, praise the union of the crane with his mate, reproach the ruddy goose, indulge in stories about women, enjoy water-sports and personal adornment, rock in swings, prepare flower beds and praise the god of love. One of them affirms that *Kāma* is more important than the remaining three human aims of life. He argues that only the one who studies the science of erotics, gives delight to his wife, who in turn can bear him a son, and can then later on lead a virtuous life.⁴

We hear of the festival held in honour of Kāmadeva when young boys and girls met each other and were afflicted by the arrow of the god of love. They suffered from love fever and pined for their unity. There was exchange of love-letters when a female companion, a parrot or a swan was employed as a carrier of the message of love. A king after hearing about the charm and beauty of a girl, or on seeing her portrait, fell in love with her. He sent out his ministers in search of the girl and finally travelled himself to meet her under the disguise of a female ascetic. The meeting is dramatic; it usually takes place in the Kāmadeva or Nāga temple. There is a dialogue

¹ *Vinoda*, Story 1 ² 1, p. 3

³ 4, 16-19

⁴ 9, pp. 865ff. Compare the Buddhist monks, who instead of listening to the Buddhist doctrines dealing with the void, preferred to devote themselves to the sayings which are poetical, adored with beautiful words and beautiful syllabus, Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, II, 77.

between them and at the end the king succeeds in marrying her and bringing her to his kingdom.¹ We are told that on the occasion of the Full Moon festival, Taraṅgavatī fell in love with Dhanadeva, a merchant's son of the town. The boy's father asked for the hand of the girl but her father refused to get his daughter married off. Thereupon the girl sent a love-letter to her lover, and later accompanied with her girl-friend, went to his house from where both eloped in a boat.²

The *Kahāṇayakośa* of Jineśvarasūri records a beautiful tale of Sundarī, who was married to a rich merchant's son, Yaśobhadra. Once when her husband went abroad she fell in love with a handsome prince. The prince visited her secretly during the nights and enjoyed pleasures with her. Ultimately, before the secret of their love was known, they fled to some unknown destination.³ We read the love story of prince Kuvalayacanda and princess Kuvalayamālā. Having heard of the remarkable beauty of the princess, the prince suffered a stroke from the arrow of the god of love and yearned passionately to get her. The princess too, with deep affection and passionate love for the prince, sent love presents to him consisting of a garland and a flower-ornament with a figure of the royal female swan imprinted on a leaf. Below the swan-figure was inscribed a verse indicating her ardent longing to unite with the male swan. In course of time the wedding was celebrated with great splendour. The bed chamber was decorated with magnificence. When the couple entered the bed-chamber, the bride's companions had a lot of fun. Later when her companions wanted to leave the chamber, Kuvalayamālā too wanted to go out with them. But the bridegroom caught her by the end of her garment and asked her to return his 'heart' which she had 'stolen'. The bride also made a similar charge. Her companions appointed arbitrators; and their verdict was that the couple should be made to embrace each other. Thus the first three nights were spent in merry-making amorous dialogues and enjoyment.⁴

The *Vasudevahiṇḍī* of Saṅghadāsagaṇi and the *Majjhimakhaṇḍa* of

¹*Rayanaseharikaha*, 16f.

²*Taraṅgalola*, 1459-69.

³Story of Simhakumāra, 39ff.

⁴*Kuvalayamālā*, 158, 15-159, 5; 160, 9-25, 170, 30-173, 17; also *Samarū*, 2, 88f.

Dharmasenaganī Mahattara play an important role in bringing out the love theme. Vasudeva, the hero of the story, wanders about from place to place for a hundred years and married one hundred wives. He calls Samba, his grandson, 'a frog in the well,' who is satisfied with the enjoyment that is available easily.¹ The *VH* narrates how the hero, not satisfied with one wife, goes on marrying one woman after the other, delighting in love-sports and enjoying unrestrained sensual pleasures. He hardly passed the nights without enjoying the fruits of sexual luxury (*pravicārasukha*),² full of delight and happiness. Before marrying Gandharvadattā, Vasudeva married two other women, whom he loved dearly, but after taking a new bride he started loving her most.³ His other dear wife, Somasirī, was abducted by Vidyādharaṅg, Mānasavega. When Vasudeva was sporting with his beautiful wife Priyaṅgusundarī, Prabhāvatī approached him and decried him for his love for another woman, especially when his beloved Somasirī was spending the time in anguish in the custody of her abductor. Out of compassion for Somasirī, Prabhāvatī agreed to take Vasudeva to her. Later, while travelling through the air, when Prabhāvatī brought Vasudeva down to drink water, he felt extremely passionate towards her and it was with great difficulty that Prabhāvatī succeeded in dissuading Vasudeva from making advances.⁴ Elsewhere we are told that when Buddhiseṇa was taken to a brothel, a maiden approached and requested him to remove his fatigue after resting in the inner apartment. After massaging his feet the maiden pressed his chest with her delicate breasts. Thus the prince was able to enjoy sexual delight in the company of the maiden like an elephant in the company of a she-elephant.⁵

¹*VH*, 110, 19-23, *The Vasudeva*, 185f

²*VH*, 233, 1-2, *The Vasudeva*, 224; It is also known as *śavanopacāra* (service in lying in bed). In the Jain tradition, Kekayī was skilled in this art and for that reason she was granted a boon by her husband Daśaratha (*VH*, 241, 9-10)

³*VH*, 133, 6-7

⁴*Majjhimakhaṇḍa, Pabbhāvatīlambha The Vasudeva*, Introduction, pp 97-109

⁵*The Vasudeva*, pp 174f, *VH*, 102, 17-21, cf *BKSS* (X 133-162). Compare the description of amorous love and enjoyment of sexual pleasures by Vasudeva and Prabhāvatī towards the end of *Pabbhāvatīlambha* in the *Majjhimakhaṇḍa*. The *Angavijjā* (41, 182-86) devotes a chapter related to sexual intercourse

Thus we see that the Jain authors produced narrative literature containing romantic love stories, with the idea of making their religious sermons agreeable and palatable. It seems there might have existed many more Jain compositions about love and romance which unfortunately are lost to us. The *Taraṅgavaikahā* was composed by Pādaliptasūri (about 2nd or 3rd century AD), a court-poet of Hāla and a contemporary of the celebrated Guṇāḍhya, but it is no more extant. This seems to be the earliest love episode by Jains. Later Nemicandragani composed the *Taraṅgalola*,¹ an abridged form of the *Taraṅgavaikahā*. Then, the *Naravāhanadattakahā* is counted among popular love stories; the *Taraṅgavai*, the *Malayavai* and the *Magadhasenā* among extraordinary (*lokottara*) love stories; the *Setu* among love poetry, and the *Vasudevacarita* (*Vasudevahindī*) and the *Ceṣakakathā* among story literature.² Amongst them, except the *Vasudevahindī*, no other work is available at present.³ It is probable that in course of time as the tendency towards worldly renunciation grew, a prejudice against romantic and erotic literature developed and this literature went into oblivion and ultimately was declared lost. In this connection, the episode of Tiruttakadava (10th-11th century AD), the author of *Jivakacintāmani* is noteworthy. The author's chastity was doubted as without being depraved, how could he compose a poem exhibiting familiarity with sexual delight. It is said that in order to prove his purity the author picked up a piece of burning charcoal which did not affect him.⁴

ARTHAKATHA OR THE TALES RELATED TO ACQUIRING WEALTH

Like *kāmakathā* Jains also have composed tales related to the attainment of worldly prosperity (*arthakathā*). Being a mercantile community Jains have laid stress on acquiring wealth as without it one was not able to lead a virtuous life, and without virtue there

¹Professor Leumann had rendered it into German in 1921, a Gujarati translation of which was prepared by Narsinghbhai Patel. It was published in *Jain Sahitya Samśodhaka*, pt. II, 1924, Poona. It has been recently published by the L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad.

²*Nisī Bha*, 8, 2343; 16, 5211, *Bṛh Bha*, 22, 2564, also *PJKS*, 12-30.

³Edited by Muni Punyaviṇaya and Chaturviṇaya, also Jagdishchandra Jain, *The Vasudevahindī—an Authentic Jain Version of the Brhatkathā*, 1977.

⁴*The Vasudeva*, 3fn 5, A. Chakravarty, *Jain Literature in Tamil*, 63-66.

could be no happiness. Sthāṇu giving prominence to *artha* has argued: "Without wealth one cannot give charity, so one is deprived of doing virtuous deeds (*dharma*), and without wealth our desires (*kāma*) cannot be satisfied." Therefore he proposes to make a trip outside the country and earn wealth.¹ Possession of money was a means of inculcating the spirit of independence so that one has not to hang upon others for one's maintenance and livelihood. We come across ambitious young sons of merchants, who in spite of their forefathers having plenty of money, wish to travel abroad in order to make their fortune. The father replies that they possessed plenty of wealth which would last for generations to come. But the young men insisted on going out under the plea that their money belonged to their forefathers and they would like to earn their own by strength of arms.² Another young son of a merchant seeks permission of his mother to go abroad to earn wealth. He contends that the wretched man who did not earn money in his youth is useless like a fleshy nipple hanging down from the neck of a goat, and that a wise man should not depend on the earnings of his forefathers. Ultimately the mother allows her son to leave the country.³ Sāgaradatta, another merchant's son, deeply moved by the performance of an actor, announces a large sum of money to be given to him. Seeing this, someone present there remarks, "Is it creditable on the part of the young man to announce such a prize as the money belonged to his forefathers and not to him. He recited the following verse:

"Praiseworthy is he who gives money
earned by his own strength,
Otherwise he is as good as a thief."⁴

The hero Lobhadeva, who was determined to undertake the journey to a foreign country at any cost, exhorts his companions to face the foreseeing dangers for the sake of achieving prosperity. He says, "As Lakṣmī," the wife of Viṣṇu, leaves her husband and goes away, similarly the one who makes no effort is abandoned by the goddess of wealth, and one who does make an effort is welcomed by

¹ *Kuvalayamālā*, 57, 13-15

² *Ibid*, 65, 6-10

³ *Kumāravālapadīboha*, 3, 245.

⁴ *K'LM*, 103, 19-23,

her. As a devoted wife, whose husband mistakenly calls her by his lover's name, leaves her husband in embarrassment, similarly the goddess of wealth, even after embracing a man, abandons him if he is found devoid of impetuosity. As a new bride from a noble family looks at her husband bashfully while he is occupied in something else, similarly the goddess of wealth casts her glances at a person, knowing that he is busy elsewhere. As a woman who goes to meet her lover rests on his chest, similarly the goddess of wealth rests on the chest of one who, even in a difficult situation, does not give up endeavours once begun. As a wife whose husband has gone abroad, accepts her husband after his return, so does the goddess of wealth accept the one who has subdued her by prudence and valour. As a woman whose husband is guilty of infidelity, puts him to humiliation, so does the goddess of wealth humiliates the one who does not hold fast to the work he has begun.¹

We read about the thrilling narratives of daring merchants who set out for a journey to far-off countries by land and water. They had to pass through the inaccessible tracks, deserts, mountains and wild forests where they had to guard themselves against the dangers of wild beasts, wild tribes and violent robbers. These adventures are often highlighted and exaggerated by introducing extraordinary episodes and improbable incidents to make the narratives exciting. The merchant Cārudatta loses all his wealth by dwelling in the company of a prostitute. He approaches his mother beseeching her to allow him to go abroad in order to acquire wealth. He tells her if he succeeds, then only would he return, otherwise he would never come back. The young merchant sets out on his journey. On his way, his caravan was attacked by a band of robbers. He made a sea-voyage and passed through several foreign lands. He met with a terrible shipwreck and after clinging to a wooden plank, continuously for seven nights, somehow reached the shores. When he got out of the sea his whole body was whitened by salt water. He had to travel through an inaccessible mountain which he was able to cross holding the spikes carefully driven into the mountainside. To cross the fathomless river was still more difficult. The river had to be crossed even at the cost of one's life. One had to catch hold of cane thickets growing on one side of the river and swing to

the other side at the blow of the wind. Then to pass through the dreadful circuitous track was most difficult. The track was so narrow that one had to cross it riding a goat. But this was not the end of the journey.

In order to acquire precious jewels one had to reach the island of Ratnadvīpa which was not easily approachable. The traveller had to be picked up and carried through the air by a large bird known as *bhāruṇḍa* in its beak, and the only one who was lucky, could reach the destination. Unfortunately, Cārudatta, while being carried by the bird, fell into a large pool below. But the ambitious young man would not give up. He firmly believed in the saying: In prosperity lies human exertion.¹

Sea-voyage was full of grave dangers such as those from huge waves, whales, a tortoise, underwater rocks, cyclones and pirates. We are told that a vessel was tossed about at the sea due to mighty cyclones and the passengers losing all hopes for life, began to propitiate deities in fear.² Ships were attacked by large fish and other water animals and it was difficult to prevent them even by beating drums or burning fire.³ At times when the ship did not move further, one of the passengers was offered as a *baḷi* to the sea-deity.⁴

In these stories the merchants are depicted as great heroes, who at the cost of their lives, travelled all along and in the end returned home with success. As a hero of literary novels was invincible and all-powerful, so was the case with the merchant heroes. There was a marvellous grip in these stories giving rise to unending inquisitiveness in the audience, therefore they were bound to be quite popular. The *Bṛhatkathā* was a storehouse of such enterprising tales which unfortunately has been lost to us. Luckily, some of these fascinating tales have been preserved in the *Vasudevahinḍī* (3rd century AD), the *Bṛhatkathāślokesaṅgraha* (5th century AD), and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (11th century AD) with which we have to be content. The stories are also important as they contain important information with regard to inland and foreign trade, export and import, trade routes, traders' associations, dialects spoken by traders of

¹VH, 145, 1-146, 14, 147, 27-150, 10, *The Vasudeva*, 274-298

²*Nāyādharmakāśā*, 17, 201

³*Kaṭhārayana*, 134f

⁴*Sīrisīrīyāla*, 391f.

different regions, various customs, nautical knowledge and many other details which are rarely noticed in non-Jain literature Jainism is prominently based on renunciation of worldly pleasures where the aspect of *dharma* is emphasised. But as we have noticed earlier, from the more practical layman point of view, *artha* is essential as it leads to the cultivation of virtuous life. It seems, in course of time as the philosophy of renunciation developed more intensely, the tales related to *artha* and *kāma* went into oblivion and were condemned as *vikathās* or irrelevant talks forbidden for Jain monks.¹

NARRATIVE TALES IN JAIN CANONICAL LITERATURE (6th century BC—6th century AD)

Śramanas or ascetics played an important role in moulding the life of the people. They were highly respected by the common people, who called upon them, offered them food and residence and listened to their teachings. Jain monks were instructed to stay at one place for four months during the monsoon, wander about for eight months from country to country, engage themselves in religious discussions and propagate religion. These monks were supposed to be well-acquainted with the local dialects, customs and usages.² Since the monks were drawn from different sections of the society, they were acquainted with all sorts of tales and anecdotes related to workers, artisans, tradesmen, witch-doctors, fortune-tellers, beggars, mendicants and so on. Many of these narratives are pieces of genuine didactic tales, depicting the real life of the common people, including various fables, fairy tales, legends, similes, parables, illustrations, romantic and adventurous tales, moral stories, and sayings drawn from the common stock of Indian folklore. They incorporate stories of men and women turning into monks and nuns in order to attain a better life in next birth. Jain monks and nuns have been repeatedly instructed to guard them-

¹See *Thā*, 282; *Sama.*, 4, *Das. Nir.*, 207, *Vaṭṭakera*, *Mūlācāra*, *Vakyaśuddhi-nirupana*, *Āvā Cū*, II, 81, Buddhist monks are prohibited to get indulged in the stories of kings, robbers, ministers, arms, wars, women, gods, spirits, sea-faring adventures and so on, *Vinayapiṭaka*, *Mahāvagga* (5.715), *Dīgha*, *Sāmaññaphala* (1, 2).

²*Bṛh. Bha.*, 1. 1229-39.

selves against the temptations of worldly pleasures lest they may undergo endless suffering in the following innumerable existences.

The *Suyagadam*, one of the ancient portions of Jain Canon, in order to exhort monks to keep away from sins and passions and devote themselves to the right conduct, employs a parable of the Lotus. In a great lake which is full of lotuses, stands a beautiful grand lotus in the middle. Four persons from four different quarters approach the lotus and try to pluck it, but without success. Then a monk arrives and succeeds in plucking the lotus. Here the lake is a symbol of the world, the lotuses of man, the grand lotus of the king, the four men of the heretics, and the monk of a Jain Saint.¹ The *Nāyādhammakahāo*, a collection of stories, believed to be narrated by Mahavira himself, deals with various illustrations and tales tinged with religious sermonizing. The illustration of the two eggs of a peahen confirms that a monk must not entertain any doubt about the efficacy of self-restraint.² The story of the two tortoises illustrates that the monks and nuns must not yield to worldly temptations.³ The folktale of the four daughters-in-law is another such tale which is employed to put across a religious moral. A father-in-law entrusts five grains of rice to each one of his daughters-in-law. The first one throws them away carelessly, the second one swallows them, the third one preserves them carefully, but the fourth one plants them and reaps a rich harvest. The father-in-law punished the first two and rewards the other two. Here the four daughters-in-law represent the monks, who are given the five great vows in the form of five grains of rice. Some monks do not keep their vows at all, others neglect them, some observe them carefully, while there are others who not only observe them with care but propagate them also.⁴ Through the narration of the Mākandī princes, the monks and nuns are prompted to remain firm in their faith without being enticed to worldly pleasures.⁵ In the story of merchant Dhanya, the merchant was imprisoned for committing some offence. In the prison he was chained together with a robber, the murderer of his own son. The merchant had to share his meal with the robber out of sheer physical necessity. In the same manner, it has been laid down that the monks should eat their food just to maintain their

¹II, 1. ²II, 3 ³II, 4 ⁴II, 7.

⁵II, 9.

body in order to practise their religious vows.¹ Sumsumā, a merchant's daughter, was kidnapped by a robber. He chopped her head off and took it away with him. The father of the girl and his sons pursued the robber. On their way when they felt tired and hungry, they satisfied their hunger by feeding on the headless trunk of the girl. In the same way, the monks and nuns are instructed to eat their food merely to sustain their body in order to be able to devote themselves to their duties.²

The *Uttarādhyayana*, an important ancient work on ascetic poetry, has recorded a parable of the ram. A ram is brought up and fed well for a guest. No sooner the guest arrives the ram is cut, cooked and eaten by him. Similar is the fate of an ignorant sinner who misses his chance of reaching the state of exaltedness by being engrossed in worldly pleasures. Here we are told the tale of three merchants, who, in order to earn money, set out on a journey. The first merchant returns after making a profit, the second one just with his capital, and the third one loses his capital. Here the capital is human life, the profit is heaven, and the loss is hell or animal life.³ In the sermon of the 'Leaf of the Tree' Mahavira exhorts his disciple Gautama Indrabhūti to remain always alert and watchful. It has been stated: "As the yellow leaf of a tree falls to the ground, so when the duration of time is over life comes to an end. As a dew-drop oscillating on the top of the blade of grass lasts for a short time, so is the life of men. O Gautama! therefore be ever alert and watchful.⁴ Further, quarrelsome pupils are compared to the wicked bullocks, who, when yoked to the vehicle of self-restraint, break down through want of zeal and devotion.⁵

TALES IN PRO-CANONICAL LITERATURE

The briefly recorded narratives in the canonical literature had to be expanded and explained by later *ācāryas* through their exegetical literature. This literature deserves our special attention as it is a storehouse of tales and legends which form a part of the common treasury of universal literature. Winternitz has remarked, "Many a gem of the narrative art of ancient India has come down to us by way

¹II, 2. ²II, 18 ³II, 7.
⁴II, 10 ⁵II, 27.

of Jain commentary and narrative literature, which would otherwise have been consigned to oblivion.”¹

Pro-Canonical literature is represented by *Niryukti* (c. 4th century AD), *Bhāṣya* (c. 4th or 5th century AD) *Cūṛṇi* (7th century AD) and *Ṭikā* (8th to 16th century AD). The *Niryuktis* not only explain the topics contained in the Canons but also give us supplementary information on various important subjects. Here we have concise narrations of great personalities such as *Tīrthankaras*, *Pratyekabuddhas*, *ācāryas* and liberated souls, who, after undergoing extreme pains, have achieved the highest end. Various similes, parables, examples, illustrations, metaphors, dialogues and sayings have been employed here to explain religious virtue. The *Uttarādhyayana Niryukti* elaborates the difficulty of achieving human birth by employing similes of food (*collaka*), dice-play (*pāsa*), corn (*dhānya*), gambling (*dyūta*), jewels (*ratna*), dream (*svapna*), a circle (*cakra*), skin (*carma*), axle (*juga*) and an atom (*paramānu*)² Elsewhere the achievement of equanimity (*sāmāyikalābha*) has been elucidated by citing examples of *palya* (a measure), stones of a mountain river, an ant, a man, a path, a person seized with fever, *kodrava* grain, water and cloth³ In order to explain the good and bad qualities of pupils, the illustrations of a cow, sandalwood drum, young maidens, a householder (*śrāvaka*), a deaf, a villager (*gotha*) and traders from the country of *Ṭankaṇa* are provided⁴ In the commentary of *Nandī Sūtra* four types of intellect have been illustrated⁵

The *Bhāṣya*, *Cūṛṇi* and *Ṭikā* literature is a storehouse of narratives reflecting the social and cultural life of the ancient Indian people. Out of this the *Nisīṭha Bhāṣya*, *Brhatkalpa Bhāṣya* and *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya* are to be particularly mentioned. They abound in various legends, myths, dialogues, didactic tales, ascetic narratives and so on

¹ *A History of Indian Literature*, II, 487

² Śāntiācārya, *Uttarā*, 3, 160, pp 145-50, *Āva Nir*, (833-36), *Āva Cū*, 446-51, *Upadeśa*, 4-15, pp 3-32, *BKK* (35-44), *Bha Ārā*, (430), *Upadhyaya*, *BKK*, Introduction 74, 381.

³ *Āva. Nir.*, 107

⁴ *ibid*, 136.

⁵ 26 Commentary by Malayagiri; *Āva Nir*, 932-45; *Āva, Cū*, 544-68, *Upadeśa*, 38-160, pp 44a-138 For seven illustrations of intellect see *Vinodakathā* of Rājasekhara Maladhari cf *Mahāummagga Jātaka* (546). For other references see Bloomfield, *The Ocean*, VII, Foreword, p X ff.

and are worth studying as folk-tales. In the *Cūrṇi* literature, the *Niśīthaviśeṣa Cūrṇi* and the *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi* are most informative and replete with socio-cultural accounts rarely available elsewhere. A tale of a herd of elephants and the two lizards has been recorded in the *Niśīthaviśeṣa Cūrṇi*.¹ Seeing the two lizards fighting with each other, the sylvan deity proclaimed that the place where there was a fight between the two lizards, was bound to be ruined. In course of the fight, one of the lizards entered the trunk of a sleeping elephant. The elephant became restive and running up and down in desperation, destroyed the trees of the jungle killing many wild animals. The *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi* has noted a large number of fascinating stories preaching moral lessons. A Brahman lady instructed her three daughters to give a kick to their husbands at the first meeting after their marriage. The husband of the first daughter, held her foot expressing sorrow that she might not have been hurt. Thereupon the mother advised her daughter not to worry as her husband would ever remain submissive to her. The husband of the second daughter protested a bit but was soon pacified. The mother said that she would lead a happy life. The husband of the youngest daughter felt very annoyed at the behaviour of his wife and he hit her back. The mother advised her to be always respectful to her husband and look after him carefully.² Similarly a number of tales and anecdotes pertaining to the wit and wisdom of the minister Abhayakumāra have been recorded in the *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*³ and other important narratives of Jains.

A number of long and short commentaries have been composed on Jain Canonical literature by renowned authors such as Haribhadrāsūri (8th century AD), Vādivatāla Śāntisūri (11th century AD), Nemīcandrasūri (or Devendragāṇi: 11th century AD), Malayagiri (12th century AD), Abhayadevasūri (12th century AD), Maladhāri Hemacandra (12th century AD), Kṣemakīrti (13th century AD), and others. The commentaries on the *Āvaśyaka Sūtra* by Haribhadrāsūri and Malayagiri, and on the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* by Vādivatāla Śāntisūri and Nemīcandrasūri are particularly noteworthy as they contain material based on old traditions recorded

¹IO 2784-2786

²*Āva. Cū.*, 81; *Bṛh. Bhā. Vr.*, 80.

³II, 159-63.

faithfully. Here the old *kathānakas* are retained in Prakrit though the major part of the commentary is in Sanskrit. The tale of a Monkey and a Tailor-Bird is found in Haribhadra's commentary on the *Āvaśyaka*. Seeing a monkey shivering with cold in the rainy season, the bird started giving a bit of advice to it that had it built a house to live in, it would have saved the pathetic situation. Hearing this the monkey got wild and demolished the bird's nest.¹ Another story is about two quarrelling women, each claiming the infant as her own. Ultimately, knowing the decision that like the other property the child too was going to be divided into half and half, the real mother gave up her claim. In the end, however, she was declared to be the mother of the child and the child was entrusted to her.² The story of the girl with three wooers finds a place in the world literature. A certain girl got three different proposals for her engagement. One proposal was accepted by her mother, another by her brother and the third one by the father. At the time of the wedding, all the three bridegrooms, accompanied by the marriage party, arrived. By chance, the night the wedding was to take place, the girl was bitten by a snake. Out of the three bridegrooms, one of them died on the pyre along with the bride, the second one resorted to a fast, and the third one, by means of a charm, brought the girl and the first bridegroom back to life. Then all of them presented themselves and asked for the girl's hand. To whom should the girl be given? Here is the solution: The one who has given her life is her father, the one who was brought back to life along with the girl is her brother, and the one who resorted to a fast is the most deserving and the girl should be married to him.³

NARRATIVES IN POST-CANONICAL LITERATURE

Post-canonical literature is a mine of information and is most significant from the point of view of the social and cultural history

¹p 262, *Āva Nir*, 681, *Āva Cū*, 345, *Brh Bhā. Vṛ*, 1 3252, *Pañcākhyāna*, V. Story 19, also *Kūṇḍāsaka Jātaka* (321), *Pañcatantrā*, *Mitrabhedā*, also compare Mary Frere, *Old Deccan Days*, the story of *Selfish Sparrow and the Houseless Crows*, p 139

²p 420, *Āva Cū*, 549, *VH*, 354, 12-29, *The Vasudeva*, 524f; Mahosadha Pandit gives a similar judgement in the *Mahā-Ummagga Jātaka* (546)

³*Āva Cū*, II, 58, also *Veśāla*, stories 5 and 2.

of the ancient Indian people. Jains were in search of interesting narratives from whatever source they came and incorporated them in their compositions. They comprised lengthy narratives of varied interest.

REALISM IN THE STORIES

In course of time, as the materialistic progress continued, the tendency towards realism in narratives grew. As a result the interest of readers in mythological legendary accounts of the Brahmanic Purāṇas grew lesser. The author of the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* has remarked : "The mind of the learned men is not pleased any more by listening to the mythological stories of the Purāṇas again and again"¹ In this respect, by incorporating realistic stories in their literature, Jains made a considerable contribution in the field. Though they adopted a number of old traditional stories of Brahmanic literature, their attempts had been to present them with a rationalistic attitude. Take for instance, the story of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyana*. In the opinion of Vimalasūri, author of the *Paumacarīya*, certain statements contained in the *Rāmāyanā* are exaggerated and fanciful and hence cannot be relied on. For example, the remark that Rāvaṇa's brother Kumbhakarṇa slept for half a year, and then after his awakening, he devoured elephants etc., is beyond the comprehension of a common man. In the same way, Hanumān (having large jaws) has been called a monkey in the *Rāmāyana*, but according to Vimalasūri, he belonged to the monkey (*vanara*)² race of the *vidyadharas*, bearing a badge of monkey on the arches of their gates, banners etc. Similarly, Rāvaṇa was not a man-eating demon, possessed of ten faces as claimed by Vālmīki. In Jain mythology, he was a learned man of noble descent, and that his face reflected nine times in his wonderful string of pearls, hence he was called Daśānana (ten-faced).³ In this connection the *Dhuttak-khāna* of Haribhadrāsūri is noteworthy where the author through

¹*Śloka*, 6, page 1

²The Orāons of Chota Nagpur bear monkey-totems, they abstain from killing or injuring or even domesticating a monkey, Sarat Chandra Roy, *The Orāons of Chota Nagpur*, Introduction, 22f.

³*Paumacarīya*, 6, 7.

imaginary tales, has ridiculed the legends of Brahmanic mythology.

In this literature we have glimpses of the life of the most varied classes of common people. It comprises the interesting accounts of trading merchants, travelling in far-off countries with a caravan, shipwreck, robbers and thieves, gamblers, knaves, physicians, priests, astrologers, witch doctors, slave boys, maid-servants brought from foreign countries, marriage customs, popular deities, common festivals, jailors, punishment awarded to criminals, poverty-stricken people, mendicants, beggars, lovelorn men and women, prostitutes, bawds and so forth. Various forms such as dialogues, tests, parables, metaphors, illustrations, competitions, contests, witty conversations, riddles, pranks, questions and answers, reply and rejoinder, completing the part of a stanza, eloquent speech and epigrams are employed to make the narratives fascinating.

In the commentary of the *Upadeśapada* by Municandrasūri (12th century AD), we read a pathetic account of a virtuous man. With the greatest difficulty he was able to procure a little sugar, coarse meal and milk for the members of his family. But as luck would have it, the pot containing sugar and coarse meal turned upside down, and as a result of too much heating, the milk overflowed and spilled all over.¹ In another account we are told of the fate of a poor Brahman who was penniless, whereas people around him were enjoying their utmost. His wife was feeling utterly helpless as she had nothing to offer to her hungry children. Members of the family were lying sick and no medicine could be provided to them. The house occupied by the family was dilapidated and was leaking. In this helpless state of mind the poor Brahman often thought of ending his life by committing suicide.² We read a graphic description of a blind beggar of a blind-home situated in Ujjeni. The poor beggar sat in the city-market beating his forehead with a stone, holding a tuft of grass between his teeth. Once due to a severe headache he could not go out for begging. Thereupon his harsh voiced cruel wife hit him, abused him and called him names. Though the beggar was unable to walk, he carried the young child in his arms and left the house for the city-market. But as he was trying to walk fast, he was struck down by a mass of trees and fell.³

¹Story of Śaṅkhakalāvati, p. 345a

²BHBH, II, 300-307, p. 533

³BKK, 3.1-14

The *Kahāraṇakosa* (beginning of the 12th century AD) depicts the scene of a domestic quarrel between mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law. The daughter-in-law was asked to fetch water from the well. As she was returning with a pitcher full of water, it fell down and broke. This infuriated the mother-in-law and she started abusing her daughter-in-law. Other women of the family joined the melee and that created a scene. The master of the house watched the wrangle helplessly and was very much ashamed.¹ Another quarrelsome woman is depicted in the *Bhavabhāvanā*; (12th century AD): Her activities were confined to her house. She not only quarrelled with her daughter-in-law and other members of the family, but also abused mendicants who appeared at her door for begging.² *Īśvarī* was another uncharitable woman, who never entertained mendicants, looked at them contemptuously, humiliated them, irked them and drove them away from her house. She taunted them saying that they must have joined the ascetic order under unfavourable conditions.³

Elsewhere the struggle of Narmadāsundarī, the wife of a merchant, has been portrayed. Accompanied by his wife, the merchant, set out for the country of Yavanadvīpa. On the way, suspecting her fidelity, he abandoned her in a deserted island and proceeded further. With great difficulty, Narmadāsundarī managed to reach the country of Barbarā. There she was enticed and tempted to accept the profession of a prostitute. In defiance of the order of the chief prostitute of the city brothel, she was given a solitary cell and threatened of the dire consequences, but she remained steadfast in her pursuance and would not submit.⁴

ACCOUNTS OF SLAVES

Slavery was in vogue in those days. Various types of slaves have been mentioned. Some were born slaves, some were purchased, others were reduced to slavery as they were unable to pay the fine or debts, some were made to accept slavery during famine.⁵ We are told of a widow, who in order to entertain her ascetic brother, borrowed two

¹Sudattakathānaka, 183 af

²II, 197 Commentary, p. 458.

³Rayanacūḍācariya, 51f.

⁴Maheśvarasūri, *Narmadāsundarikahā*, Story 1.

⁵*Thā*, 4, p. 191a, *Nisī Bhd.*, 11 3676.

pālīs of oil from a grocer, which she could not pay for in time and was forced to serve him as a slave.¹ A slave boy, named Cīlāta, used to look after his master's children. He took them to a nearby garden and made them play with other children of the locality. Later, his misconduct was brought to the notice of the master, who dismissed him and sent him away.² Panthaka was another slave boy who carried his master's child in his arms. Once when he was busy playing with other children, a child-lifter quietly took away the child.³ Slave girls were employed for household work; they cleaned utensils, threshed corn, cooked food and conveyed message.⁴ They helped their mistress in carrying food, eatables, perfumes, flowers and garlands to the temple of *yakṣa* for worship.⁵ We are told about old slave woman, who was asked to collect firewood from jungle. She returned tired and hungry in the afternoon with a bundle of sticks on her head. When the master noticed that the bundle contained very few sticks, he gave the old woman a beating and sent her back to fetch more sticks.⁶

Female slaves were brought from foreign countries, including Barbara, Palhava, Draviḍa, Sindhala, Araba, Pārāsa and others. Some of them were hunch-backed, some dwarfs and others looked ill-shaped with their belly bulging out. They looked pretty in their native dress; they were skilled in apprehending emotions of lovers, they were accomplished in the arts and well-trained.⁷ Female servants formed a part of dowry in wedding.⁸ Many of them regained their freedom by voluntary manumission when their forehead was washed after receiving the news of the birth of a male child.⁹ The slaves were treated as property of their master along with quadruped and other possession.

Female nurses were engaged in bringing up children. Five nurses have been mentioned: the wet-nurse, the bath-nurse, the toilet nurse, the play-nurse and the lap-nurse. It has been stated that if the wet-

¹ *Pinḍa. Nir.*, (327-19)

² 108 *Nāyā*, 18

³ *ibid.*,

⁴ *Āve Cū*, 300

⁵ *Uttarā Vr*, 12, 173a

⁶ *Āve Cū*, 331f

⁷ *Nīti Sū.*, 9.28, *Vijāha*, 9 6, *Nāyā.*, 1 29; *Uttarā Vr*, 2, 39.

⁸ *Nāyā*, 1, 23.

⁹ *ibid.*, 1, 20.

nurse was old in age, the oozing of milk from her breasts was scanty which made the child lean and thin; if her breasts were large, they were repeatedly hit by the mouth of the child which shaped its nose flat. If her breasts were flat like the palm of hand, the child's teeth became protruded. If the bath-nurse while giving bath to a young baby, put it into the water, it developed a tendency of fright; its eyes got weak by the weight of the water and turned reddish. The toilet-nurse, after giving bath to a child, applied various marks on its body to save it from an evil eye. If the play-nurse's voice was loud the child also spoke loudly, and if her voice was slow, the child's voice became indistinct or it became dumb. Similarly, if the lap-nurse held the child in her lap which was large, its feet became extended; if her lap was emaciated, the child's lap crumbled; if it was fleshless, it created pain in child's bones, and if the child was held in fleshless stiff hands, it developed fear.¹ The position of hired labourers or wage-earners was not happy like those of slaves. Either (i) they were employed on daily wages in kind or cash, (ii) were employed while undertaking a journey, (iii) worked on contract basis and were paid after the completion of the work, (iv) worked on daily wages and were asked to do all kinds of work as directed by the employer.²

Then, besides those who were employed in cultivating farm and tending cattle, there were a large number of people, who though cannot be included under the category of labour class, played an important role in society. Amongst those, who accepted the profession of learning, teachers, physicians, those expert in testing the foundation of the house, those versed in the science of prognostication and fortune-tellers can be mentioned. Amongst those, who caused public entertainment, there were musicians, acrobats, dancers rope-walkers, wrestlers, boxers, jesters, story-tellers, leapers, ballad-reciters, short narrative-tellers, pole dancers, picture-showmen, pipers, lute-players, clappers, snake-charmers, bards,³ buffoons, flatterers, inflamers, of passion and mime-actors. Then we had royal attendants who accompanied kings. They were foot-soldiers, carriers of umbrella, throne, foot-stool, pair of sandals, staff-carriers, spear-carriers, bow-

¹*Nisī Cū.*, 13.4383-91; *Pīṇḍ. Nīr.*, 418-26.

²*Thā.*, 271.

³*Ovā*, p. 2.

carriers, chowrie-carriers, rope-carriers, account book-carriers, board-carriers, seat-carriers, lute-carriers, betel-box carriers, torch-carriers, and so on ¹

PREDOMINANCE OF RELIGIOUS TEACHING

In the above-mentioned accounts, interwoven with narratives, whether related to attainment of wealth or the fulfilment of a desire, the teaching of religious virtues dominates. As already indicated, the *Vasudevahindī*, for example, records numerous tales and anecdotes; whether they belong to a wealthy merchant or a poor Brahman, a king or an ordinary person, a warrior, a manual worker, a buffalo, a goat or a parrot, they end with a moral.² In the stories of the *Samarāṅgikāhā*, a religious novel, emphasis is laid on the theory of *karma*, transmigration, leading a virtuous life, indifference to worldly pleasures, renunciation, achieving the highest goal of life and so on. The story of nine rebirths of Gunasena and Agnīśarmā is mainly based on claiming the reward for a penitential act (*nīdāna*). The priest Agnīśarmā, humiliated by prince Gunasena, develops a strong desire to take revenge on him and is born as his enemy for nine successive births. In order to expose the evils of sensual pleasures, the parable of the 'Man in the well' is introduced here.³ Further, the author has employed a metaphor of roads: One is crooked, another is straight. The crooked one is easy but it takes longer time to reach the destination. On the other hand, travelling by a straight road is more troublesome, but it takes shorter time. One is advised to take the straight road. This road is infested with various kinds of trees, bamboo-bowers and high mountains, but one should not stop at these places for rest. On the way, there are various kinds of fruits but one should not be tempted to eat them. The traveller should go ahead till he arrives at his destination—the city of salvation (*Nirvṛtipura*).⁴ In another story, a physician, in order to enlighten a merchant, demonstrates how to extinguish fire with a bundle of grass.⁵ Prince Samarāditya, in order to

¹*Oṅḍ*, p. 130, *Nisī Cū*, 2.21

²See *The Vasudeva, Kahuppatti*, App. I, pp. 557 ff.

³Chapter 2, cf. *VH*, 8.3-23; *The Vasudeva*, 560f and fn.

⁴Chapter 5, also see *Āva, Cū*, 509-11.

⁵Chapter 6.

conquer disease, tries to cut it off with his sword, but is advised to practise religion if he really wants to get rid of the god of death.¹

Similar accounts pertaining to religious practices are incorporated in the narratives of the *Kuvalayamālā*. Anger, vanity, deceit, greed and infatuation have been called the main causes of wandering in the endless world which is full of misery and unhappiness. Significantly the character of anger is represented by Caṇḍasoma, vanity by Mānabhaṭṭa, deceit by Māyāditya, greed by Lobhadeva, and infatuation by Mohadatta. We are provided with a detailed biographical sketch of these characters through the medium of interesting narratives.² In order to enlighten laymen, various parables and illustrations have been employed here. The Parable of 'Kāumbārī Fruits' consists of a story of three ship-wrecked persons. These persons, by chance, reach a lonely island where they came across a kāumbārī plant, bearing fruits. They were very much tempted to eat these fruits. In the mean-time, a sailor arrives there and proposes to rescue them. The first person is so much attached to the fruits that he refuses to leave the place. The second one expressed his desire to leave the place after some time. The third person accompanies him immediately. Here the three persons are represented by three types of soul, the island with the human birth, kāumbārī fruits with women, the sailor with a religious preceptor, and the person who accompanies the sailor with the man who renounces the world with a view to attain eternal bliss.³ The author of the *Kuvalayamālā* inserts an interesting painted scroll depicting scenes of wheel of worldly existence. There are exciting scenes indicating people suffering from various diseases, lying on their cots in helpless condition. The housewife and relatives and friends are crying and lamenting. The bier is being borne by the relatives and carried to the burning ground. They set fire to the pile of wood in the crematorium. After the body was burnt and reduced to ashes, the wife, the mother and the father returned home with their minds preoccupied by the departed soul whom they loved intensely.⁴

Elsewhere, a Chain of Destruction is pointed out in which one

¹Chapter 9.

²See 45, 6-49, 21; 49, 22-56, 10; 56, 12-64, 13; 64, 14-72, 17-80, 32.

³88, 30-90, 20.

⁴186, 14-33.

animal is shown killing another. A fight is going on between a lion and an elephant, a tiger and a wild bull, wild buffaloes and antelopes, a smaller fish and a larger one, a peacock and a serpent, a lizard and an insect, a bird and a wild cat, a wild boar, and a leopard and so on.¹ It has been emphasised here that urged by the sentiment of love and hatred, the more powerful living beings are forced to act in a vicious manner towards the weaker beings. The spirit of religion which predominates these stories can be seen in terms of professionals and the rewards they may merit if they follow the religious sentiments in the stories. Thus we have instances when the narrator talks of agriculture, tending of cattle, sea-faring, gambling, wrestling, battle and so on

On agriculture he says "One who sows the seed in the field cultivated by a plough of mind, is bound to reap a good harvest"

On tending of cattle he says: "If a cowherd holds the staff of scriptures, stops his cattle from entering the passage of others and keeps back his cows of sense-organs, he is surely going to be happy."

Similarly on gambling, he has this to say. "If you desire to play the game of dice, wearing a leather cloth to protect your loins, you should win the game with coweries of humanity, but never try to win by unfair means."

On Sea-faring, he remarks: "If you are a sea-faring merchant, you should fill in your ship with the jewels of virtue, and after crossing the world-like ocean, reach the island of salvation."

On battle he has to say: "If you want to win a battle you should take refuge in an omniscient being; you should draw out your sword of penance and fight out with the fierce enemy of sense-organs. You are sure to conquer the city of Salvation."

On entering into the cave of Asuras, he writes: "Holding the burning lamp of knowledge, led by a preceptor, if you enter the cave of self-restraint, you are sure to win the daughter of Asura in marriage."

Or to get rid of poverty he has to say: "After accepting asceticism, if you practise severe penance, you would never be a victim of poverty in the next rebirth"²

¹The illustration is portrayed in the Vasaveshvara Jain temple consecrated by the general Buchiraja on the day of coronation of the Hoysala Ballala II in 1173 AD. According to M.B Emeneau, chronologically, this illustration is traced first in Jain texts, Folk-tales of India, III, *JAOS*, 67.

²192, 26-193, 30. cf. *Uttara*, *Sū*, 9.

DIDACTIC NARRATIVE LITERATURE

Didactic literature composed by Jains consists of a large number of narratives, giving prominence to ritualistic practices, virtue of self-restraint, chastity, charity, worship, penance, renunciation, abandonment of material wealth and so on. In between the narratives, religious and moral instructions are introduced for the enlightenment of laymen and monks.

Jains have composed numerous works of importance under the title *Upadeśamālā* (Garland of Instructions). Amongst these works, the *Uvaesamālā* by Dharmadāsagaṇi (4th or 5th century AD), the *Uvaesapada* by Haribhadrāsūri (8th century AD), the *Dharmopadeśamālā-Vivaraṇa* by Jayasimhasūri (9th century AD), the *Sīlovaesamālā* by Jayakīrti (14th century AD), the *Bhavabhāvanā* (or *Upadeśamālā* and the *Upadeśamālāprakaraṇa* by Maladhāri Hemacandrasūri (12th century AD), the *Samvegaraṅgasālā* by Jinacandrasūri (12th century AD), the *Uvaesarayanāyara* by Muncandrasūri (before 14th century AD) and others are noteworthy.¹ It is said that the study of the *Uvaesamālā*, consisting of numerous edifying tales of pious men and women, brings about mental equilibrium, welfare and fortune. In course of time, a number of didactic works were composed on the pattern of this important work. *Uvaesapada*, with the commentary of Muncandrasūri, has been composed for slow-witted simple people. Numerous popular interesting tales explaining the teachings of Mahavira, have been incorporated here. Apart from witty tales and anecdotes, eloquent speeches, witty sayings, didactic verses, riddles, and questions and answers, form a part of this important composition. In many of these narratives the socio-economic conditions of ancient Indian people are reflected. Jayasimhasūri, the author of *Dharmopadeśamālā-Vivaraṇa*, has incorporated various literary forms such as questions and answers, filling out the measure of a verse (*pā-dāpūrti*), indirect mode of expression (*vakrokti*), dissembling statement (*vyājokti*), and the like in his composition. The subject-matter dealt with in the stories pertains to the self-control, good company, doing one's duty, conquering anger, obedience to one's teacher and so on. Maladhāri Hemacandra's *Bhavabhāvanā* deals with the stories related to twelve meditations (*bhāvanā*) which are considered essential

¹Jagdish Chandra Jain, *PSL*, pp. 490-524.

for the development of the feeling of detachment from worldly objects. In these stories we have glimpses of the life of the common people, their aspirations: love, hatred, pride, deceit, ungratefulness, dissension and so on. In his *Upadeśamālāprakarana*, besides narrating the stories pertaining to the purity of right faith, purity of right conduct, control of sense-organs, restraint of passions, imparting knowledge, and to remain dutiful to one's teacher, the author has discussed the fruits of charity, good conduct, penance and meditation through the medium of narratives. The *Samvegaraṅgaśālā* records a dialogue between a king and a queen emphasising the desire for attaining emancipation from worldly objects. The *Uvaesarayaṇāyara* illustrates the didactic teachings through the examples of birds, animals, insects, trees, plants and so on. The result of virtuous deeds is explained through the illustrations of sugarcane, juice, molasses, candy and sugar.

BIOGRAPHICAL LITERATURE

There is a vast biographical literature in Prakrit written by Jains. It consists of the lives of Tirthaṅkaras, Cakravartins, Baladevas, Vāsudevas and Prativāsudevas, besides a large number of narratives of legendary heroes, ascetic heroes, eminent post-Mahavira teachers, patriarchs, renowned saints, outstanding authors, royal patrons, merchant-princes and others, who served the cause of Jain religion at different periods. In this context, the names of some of the outstanding works such as the *Tarangavaikahā*, the *Vasudevahindī*, the *Paumacariya*, the *Harivamśacariya*, the *Cauppannamahāpurisacariya*, the *Kahāvalī*, the *Tiloyapannatti* and others are worthy to be mentioned. The *Vasudevahindī* contains a biography of Vāsudeva, father of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva, whose adventures have been recorded here on the pattern of Naravāhanadatta, the hero of Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā*.¹

The *Paumacariya* by Vimalasūri contains story of the Jain Rāmāyaṇa, introducing inner stories within the main story. Here we meet the *vidyādharas* (masters of magic art) making the narration pleasant like a fairy tale. Sītā's ordeal by fire has been described. As

¹See Jagdish Chandra Jain, *The Vasudevahindī—An Authentic Jain Version of the Bṛhatkathā*

ow-

ing with a mass of water. The *Harivamsacariya* narrates the life of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva, an outstanding hero of Kṣatriya clan and a cousin brother of Ariṣṭanemi, the 22nd Tirthaṅkara of Jains. The *Kaṇḍali* by Bhadrēśvara, besides narrating the lives of 63 Great Personalities (*śalākāpuruṣa*) gives an account of eminent teachers from Kalakācārya to Haribhadrasūri.

Besides, there are numerous works dealing with the biography of individuals. In the *Surasundarīcariya* the story of princess Surasundarī is described. A sea-vessel is compared here with a self-restrained monk, moving slowly and cautiously. The *Rayanacūḍācariya* narrates the story of Ratnacūḍa which has been developed out of a folk-tale. Previous births of Pārśvanātha, the 23rd Tirthaṅkara, have been narrated in the *Pāsanāhacariya* by Gunacandraganī. The *Mahāvīracariya* is his another composition which deals with the detailed biography of Mahavira. The *Supāsanāhacariya* by Lakṣmaṇaganī narrates the life of Supārśvanātha, the 7th Tirthaṅkara of Jains. The major part of the work contains religious sermons such as the twelve vows, their transgression, significance of the right faith and so on. Characterising a true friend, it has been stated: "A friend is he who awakens a person from slumber of infatuation, when his house of the world is burning with the fire of negligence. And the one who simply watches a sleeping man and stands still, is his foe." The *Sudamsaṇācariya* of Devendrasūri depicts the life Sudarśanā, a learned lady. A variety of topics related to religious sermons have been incorporated here.¹

Needless to say that the tendency of narrating the lives of great personalities and celebrated persons continued in Sanskrit, Apabhraṃśa, Kannaḍa, Tamil, Old Hindi and old Gujarati. Jinasena, Gunabhadra and Hemacandra were prolific writers of biographical literature in Sanskrit, Puṣpadanta in Apabhraṃśa, Cāmuṇḍarāya in Kannaḍa, the *Śrīpurāṇa* is a Tamil work by an anonymous author.

THE COMPILATION OF KATHĀKOŚAS

Jain authors also compiled Treasury of Stories from time to time and enriched their literature. The period of the 11th and 12th century AD is very important from the point of view of compo-

¹PSI, pp. 525-70

sition of this literature. Generally, these narratives are taken from the earlier Jain texts; some authors developed them, or even composed independent narratives based on the popular tales.

The *Kahāṇayakosa* (or *Kathākośaprakaraṇa*) is a popular treasure-house of stories composed by Jineśvarasūri, (11th century AD), who had widely travelled in Gujarat, Malwa and Rajasthan. These stories written in a lucid style, are related to the fruit of worship of God, attending on a monk, giving away charity, hostility to one's teacher, earnestness in religious activities and so on. The *Ākhyānamanikośa* (or the *Kathāmanikośa*) by Nemicandrasūri (11th century AD) with the commentary of Āmradeva (12th century AD), is a collection of numerous didactic stories pertaining to charity, chastity, penance, right faith, salutation to God, homage to monk, the equanimity of mind, listening to the holy scriptures, the spiritual enlightenment and so forth. The readers have been exhorted by a saying "If you are unable to practise virtue, practise it little by little. Look at the big rivers turning into an ocean." The *Kahāraṇanakośa* (or the *Kathāratnakośa*) by Gunacandragani (beginning of the 12th century) is another treasury of narratives. It contains stories pertaining to the vows, faith in true God, scriptures and teacher, compassion, self-control and so forth. A devotee has been advised to be a true layman, otherwise it has been stated that he could not be a true monk. The *Kumāravālapadiboha* (the enlightenment of Kumārapāla) by Somaprabhasūri (12th century AD) is another important compilation of stories. These stories had been narrated by the celebrated Hemacandra in order to enlighten Kumārapāla, the illustrious Cālukya king of Gujarat. The stories are based on earlier Jain texts, exalting the tenets of Jainism. Five vows, the worship, four passions, giving away charity, compassion to living beings and so on. An interesting conversation between Soul, Mind and Senses has been recorded here in which the King-Soul (*ātman*), with his consort the Insight (*buddhi*), his minister the Mind (*manas*) and his five court officials, the Five Senses participate. The *Pāiyakahāsaṅgaha* by a pupil of Paumacandasūri (12th or 13th century AD) is another collection of interesting stories with a moral at the end. It has been stated: "No one should be blamed except the *karmas*, accomplished during the past life."¹

¹See PSI, pp 431ff, 444ff, 448ff, 483ff 472ff For Hindi and English translation of some of the stories, see *Ramani Ke Roop*, and *the Gift of Love* res-

There are numerous compilations of narratives not only in Prakrit but also in Sanskrit, Apabhramśa, Kannaḍa, Tamil, Old Hindi and Old Gujarati. The *Bṛhatkathakośa* of Hariṣeṇa, critically edited by A.N. Upadhye, with his scholarly introduction, can be added to the list. Though this work is in Sanskrit, it has its origin in Prakrit. Among a few other Sanskrit works the *Puṇyāśravakathakośa* by Rāmacandra Mumukṣu (between 931 and 1331 AD). The *Kathākośa* (or *Kathāsaṅgraha* or *Antarakathāsaṅgraha*) by Rājaśekhara Maladhāri (14th century AD), the *Kathākośa* (or the *Bhadreśvara-Bāhubali-Vṛtti*) by Śubhaśīla (15th century AD) and others can be mentioned.¹

pectively by the present author. For details, catalogues of numerous manuscripts available in Jain Bhandaras can be referred to. See the Catalogue *Bṛhatṭippanika*, published in Jain Sahitya Samshodhaka, II, part 2, *Jain Granthāvali*, published by the Shvetāmbara Conference, Bombay, SV 1865, *Jinaratnakōśa* by H.D. Velankar, Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona, 1944.

¹Dr. Upadhye has mentioned a good number of the *kathākośas* written in Prakrit and Sanskrit in his Introduction to the BKK, pp. 39-72 (1) *Kathākośa* in Sanskrit interspersed with Prakrit *gāthās*, author unknown Composed after the last quarter of the 11th century AD Translated by C.H. Tawney in English (1895) (2) *Kathākośas* Under the title ten manuscripts are available in the Government Collection at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona No information is available about their authors. Some have small stories in Apabhramśa and Old-Gujarati, Sanskrit prose mixed with Sanskrit and Prakrit quotations, Sanskrit stories interspersed with Prakrit and Apabhramśa verses (3) *Kathāmahodadhī* (or *Karpūraprakara* or *Sūktāvalī*) by Hari or Hariṣeṇa in Sanskrit. Date is not settled Commentaries were written on this work. (4) *Kathāratnasāgara* by Naracandrasūri in Sanskrit. The Patan MS is dated Samvat 1319. (5) *Kathārṇava* (or *Isimaṇḍala* or *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra*) by Dharmaghoṣā (13th century AD). More than a dozen commentaries are available on this text (6) *Kathāsamāsa* (*Upadeśamālā*) by Jinabhadra in Prakrit. Date is not definite (7) *Kathāsaṅgraha* Under this title seven works by Hemācārya, Ānandasundara, Sarvasundara and others are noted in the *Jinaratnakōśa* Some works are anonymous or we do not know much about them. All the works are in Sanskrit interspersed with Maharashtra and Apabhramśa quotations (8) *Kathākośa* by Śricandra (11th century AD) in Apabhramśa. (9) *Kathākośa* by Prabhācandra (11th century AD) in Sanskrit prose. (10) *Kathākośa* by Nemidatta (16th century AD) in Sanskrit verses. (11) *Vaḍḍarādhana* (11th century AD) in Old-Kannaḍa prose. It contains quotations in Prakrit (with Apabhramśa), Sanskrit and Kannaḍa. (12) *Puṇyāśrava-kathākośa* by Nāgarāja in 1331 AD in Kannaḍa. It is based on Sanskrit work. The work has been translated into Marathi Ovis by Jinasena in 1821 AD. There are some palm-leaf manuscripts in Kannaḍa script in the Jain

Math of Moodbidri and Karkal (See the *Kannaḍa-prāntīya Tāḍapatrīya Granth Sūci*, Bharatīya Jñānapeeth, Kashi, 1948): 1. *Jain Kathā-saṅgraha* contains 23 stories 2. *Dharmakathā-saṅgraha* contains stories on religious topics 3. *Battisaputtalikā-kathā* (in Karkal) 4. *Bhetālapañcaviṃśati* (in Karkal).

The Jain Math of Śravaṇa Belgol has some manuscripts in Kannaḍa script: 1. *Ādiśvarakathā-saṅgraha* (author unknown) 2. *Añjanadevī-carita* (author unknown) 3. *Bharateśvara-carita* by Ratnākara Kavi 4. *Padmāvatī-carita* by Padmanābha Kavi.

Tiruttakadeva (10th or 11th century AD) composed the *Jivakacintāmaṇi* in Tamil. See A. Chakravarty's *Jain Literature in Tamil* for other Tamil works.

CHAPTER 2

Motifs and Tale-types in Narratives

The enormous variety and richness of motifs in Prakrit Jain narrative literature reflects a state of culture which becomes difficult forms to understand and evaluate it correctly. The richness of the motif is seen in different situations which includes both the royalty and the common man. A number of motifs such as, for example, the motif of magical impregnation, ordeal for chastity, cure by incantations, 'heavenly voice', etc. might look surprising, but what is important is the narrator's awareness of using such motifs for a dual purpose: he narrates the story and while dramatising it, is able to weave into his tales symbols that often appear modern. We notice how the pregnancy-whim of eating the flesh from one's own husband's belly is satisfied by artificial means, impregnation is caused without the sexual union of man and woman, an imaginary conversation of birds leads to some important information, the withering of flowers indicates the violation of chastity, the opening of doors automatically is a sign of virtue, the island of Simhala is a symbol of romance, the air journey leads to the marvellous land of diamonds and jewels and so on. As far as the life of primitive men is concerned it was free from any inhibition, suppression or taboos. They were practical people having a simple, innocent and natural attitude towards sex. They believed that if a man or a woman died unmarried, he or she lived a restless and frustrated life for ever and was a nuisance to the friends left behind on earth.

The motifs combined historical facts with poetical fictions and transformed the historical heroes to the legendary status. The various beliefs—for example, the fruit of past deeds, rebirth, kindness is rewarded and cruelty punished, good luck and bad luck—represent the historical truths in the form of imaginative ideas. A motif not only reveals a pre-history of tale-types but also adds to the beauty of the narrative.

Folk-tales are very rich in motifs and since Prakrit tales are mainly based on Indian folk-tales as we shall see in the following pages, there is an enormous variety and richness in these tales. These motifs are also reflected in Sanskrit, Apabhraṃśa and medieval literature of Indian languages. Some of these motifs go back as far as the Vedic texts which we shall see later. Here is presented a study of motifs and tale-types in the narratives of Prakrit literature.

SOCIAL MOTIFS

Barrenness. Barrenness is removed or prevented by the use of blood or charms, by eating or drinking certain substances, or by bathing or sacrificing, often sacrificing a child.¹ A certain woman who gave birth to still-born children, was told by an astrologer to cook rice-pudding with the blood of a still-born child and offer to a monk.² A childless mother offered medicinal oil to the deity, who was pleased and gave her pills to eat so that she begets a child.³ In order to get a son, people seated on a *kusā* grass-bed, propitiated the family-deity for ten days.⁴ King Vijayasena observed fast to obtain a son.⁵

Dreams. Dreams are looked upon as communion with the spirits. When interpreted correctly they foretell the future. When Mahavira was conceived, his mother saw fourteen great dreams.⁶ Mahavira is said to have beheld ten dreams before attaining the state of omniscience.⁷ At the time of her conception queen Dhārīnī saw in her dream a big elephant entering into her mouth which indicated that she would give birth to an illustrious son.⁸ "Drinking of the moon"

¹Maria Leach, op cit., under 'Barrenness'

²*Āva Cū*, 288 A childless mother taking bath at cemetery or cross-roads is mentioned *Nisī Bhā*, 134289 and *Cū* This practice is prevalent in the Panjab, H Kaul, *Census Report Punjab*, 1912, I, 235, D. Chattopadhyaya, *Lokāyata*, 290

³*Āva Cū*, II, 164, Childless mothers worshipped the cobra, in order to obtain an offspring, Thurston, *Omens*, 133

⁴Guṇacandraṇi, *Pāsanāhacarīya*, IV, 229

⁵*TSP*, II, 270

⁶*Kalpa*, 4. 66-87, *VH*, 158, 20-159, 13, *TSP*, I, 100ff.

⁷*Vijāha*, 16.6. This entire section is devoted to dreams Also see *Āva Cū*, 274 The *Uttarā Vr.* (8 13) quotes Prakrit verses on the interpretation of dreams, *LAI*, 148f

⁸*Nāyā*, I, 4f, *Tarangalolā*, 512-522

in dream was an indication that the child thus born would occupy a royal throne.¹ *Pregnancy-Whim (dohada)*: The pregnancy-whim played an important role in ancient Indian tales. When two or three months period of pregnancy passed, women developed peculiar types of cravings. Through this motif women are given an opportunity to have a longing for doing good deeds. When the mother to Dham-milla conceived the child she developed a pregnancy-longing to guarantee safety to others, show devotion to religious people, compassionate feeling towards the distressed and give charity to the poor.² Queen Dhārinī had a pregnancy-whim to roam about in the outskirts of a mountain riding on elephant. Among other such cravings, playing in an ivory palace, 'drinking of the moon,' having a sea bath etc., can be mentioned.³ Queen Cellaṇā had a chronic longing for eating the flesh of her husband's belly which was satisfied by procuring fresh meat, blood and entrails from a slaughter house.⁴

In a Santal story the craving of a woman to eat the livers of her co-wives' sons is fulfilled by supplying her the livers of dogs.⁵

Precaution Curing Childbirth: The mother bearing child should be careful about her movements. She should avoid sickness, sorrow and terror and should be moderate in her outfits.⁶ Santal woman are prohibited to make a mud fire-place in order to avoid the birth of a child who might suffer from hair-lip. They should not ride a cart so that the child may not always cry and snore while sleeping.⁷

Magical Impregnation Many heroes are magically conceived. Magical impregnation takes place from eating a berry, a woman's heart, finger bones, drinking urine, or it may be caused simply by a wish or a dream.⁸ Five ways of causing pregnancy without sexual union

¹Āva. Cū, 448, Śāntyācārya, *Uttara*, 3 160, p 147a, TSP, II, 317f. For Dreams as auguries' see Bloomfield, *The Life and Stories*, Add. Note 189ff. For details see *Angavijjā*, 42, 186-191.

²VH, 27, 8-9, *The Vasudeva*, 308.

³LAI, 149f, VH, 153, 3, *The Vasudeva*, 308

⁴Niryā, I, 9-11, Āva Cū., II, 166; VH, 368, 6-14, *The Vasudeva*, 551; *Samarā*, 2, 143, BKSS (IV 186-87) For details see Bloomfield's exhaustive article in the JAOS, 40 which has been summarised in *The Vasudeva*, 551, note 9. Also see *Angavijjā*, 36, 170-72

⁵C H Bompas, *Folklore of Santal Parganas*, 238.

⁶Nāyā, 1, 19, cf. *Avadānaśataka*, 1, 3, 15.

⁷Bompas, op cit., 414f.

⁸Maria Leach, op cit., II, 661,

have been mentioned: (i) A woman seated without covering her vagina at the place where a man has discharged semen, (ii) A person desirous of a son introduces semen in her vagina, (iii) The same thing done by the father-in-law, (iv) A piece of cloth moistened with semen particles covered the vagina in order to stop the menstrual blood, (v) Drinking water mixed with semen particles.¹ It is stated that a queen's pregnancy was caused by using a bark cloth moistened with the sperm of an ascetic.² A packet containing sperm, falling down in river water, was swallowed by a fish which gave birth to a divine girl.³ In the Buddhist Jātaka story, a *mātanga* touched his wife's navel with his thumb and made her conceived.⁴ Impregnation by drinking semen is a theme found all over the world. In Vedic literature a woman becomes pregnant by absorbing the seed of her husband through her nostrils. R̥ṣyaś-ṛṅga was born when a female gazelle drank the seed shed by a sage. In the same way, Nārada was born when his mother drank the seed of a sage and was impregnated.⁵ Elwin has provided us a number of examples of supernatural births among tribal people: (i) A Gond woman had given birth to a son. She informed her parents that the child had come through a dream, or she drank water mixed with semen. (ii) A Panka, who loved his elder brother's widow, dropped his seed, put it in milk and made her drink (iii) While a woman was in service of an ascetic, his seed escaped in sleep. The woman while washing his clothes, scrapped it with her teeth and became pregnant, (iv) A *sādhu* floated his semen in a lotus down a river where a virgin was bathing. She picked up the lotus and the seed went through her nostrils to make her pregnant.⁶ Among Orāons the magical augmentation of procreation is said to have been derived from the *sāl* tree.⁷ Among birds by mating the seed of a pea-fowl, a peahen got impregnated.⁸

¹*Bṛh Bhā*, 3 4128-39 and further, *Āva Cū.*, II, 175, *LAI*, 166f and note

²*VH*, 298, 12-13, *The Vasudeva*, 439.

³*BKK*, 106, 139.

⁴*Mātanga Jātaka* (497), 378.

⁵Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, *Asceticism and Eroticism*, 276 For details see Edwin Sidney Hartland, *Primitive Paternity The Myth of Supernatural Birth and Relation to the History of the Family*, London, 1909, 1, 12

⁶On Supernatural Births, *Folk-tales of Mahakoshal*, 357-60.

⁷Roy, S.C., *The Orāons*, 241ff

⁸Emeneau, *Studies in the Folk-tales of India*, *JAOS*, 63.

Abandonment of Born Children: Children were abandoned, driven away or floated down in a river. Mrgāvati thinking that her new-born babe might cause destruction to the family, asked her maid-servant to leave it on a dunghill.¹ Subhadrā left her still-born children on a dunghill and got them back.² Bhadrā put her a new-born baby below a cart.³ After the birth of Kūnika (Ajātasatru), he was cast on a dunghill by his mother.⁴ Queen Kusumāvalī asked her maid-servant to throw away her recently born child.⁵ Mandodarī, queen of Rāvana, instructed her minister to put her newly born daughter in a box and leave in a garden.⁶ Kāmpsa was kept in a bronze casket and floated down a river.⁷ Lisor, the wife of the chief, gave birth prematurely to a son whom she abandoned to float on the ocean.⁸ In a Baiga story, the queens, jealous of their co-wife, locked her children in a golden box and threw them into the sea.⁹

Washing Forehead of Maid-Servants: The forehead of a female servant was washed and she was manumitted for conveying the news of a son's birth.¹⁰

Marks On The Body: Marks on the body of a child were studied by astrologers, who foretold his future. *Lakṣana* (marks of the body) and *vyāñjana* (signs of distinction) are reckoned important constituents of Eight Great Omens (*aṣṭāṅgamahānimitta*).¹¹

¹Vivā, 1, 9f, *Āva. Cū*, 474 The reasons of abandonment are economic or social, Maria Leach, op cit., 1

²Vivāgasūya, 2, 17, *Mahāvagga*, 8 1.2, 287 In a Santal story a new-born child is thrown on a dunghill The maid-servant pretends to sweep the child in the winnowing fan and brings it back, Bompas, op. cit., 415.

³Vivā, 4, 30.

⁴Niryāvaliyāo, 1, 14, *Āva Cū*, 166

⁵*Samarāṭṭcakahā*, 2, 146f.

⁶VH, 241, 3-5.

⁷ibid, 119, 14-15; also 11, 7-8, *The Vasudeva*, 551f, 564.

⁸Alan Dundes, op cit., 114

⁹*Folk-tales of Mahakoshal*, 205, Mary Frere, *Old Deccan Days*, 192.

¹⁰*Nāya*, 1, 20.

¹¹They are (i) phenomena of the earth (*bhauṃ*), (ii) unusual events (*utpāta*), (iii) dreams (*svapna*), (iv) phenomena in the air (*antarikṣa*), (v) changes in the body (*aṅga*), (vi) articulation (*svara*), (vii) marks on the body (*lakṣana*) and (viii) signs of distinction (*vyāñjana*). See *Thā* (8. 608); *Uttarā* (15.7); *Sama* (29), *Aṅgaviṃṣā*, 1, 1; *Karalakkhaṇa*; *TSP*, II, 193f. note; *Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jain Canons*, 226.

Rṣabadeva's body possessed various auspicious marks. *Śrīvātsa*, a fish, pitcher, thunderbolt and goad are the marks of distinction.¹

Name-Giving to Child: Names have a mystic and magical importance in the world culture. Many a time the names of children are matched to the pregnancy-whim. Meghakumāra was so named as his mother had a pregnancy-longing to enjoy rain clouds out of season.² A boy was named Umbaradatta as he was born as a result of propitiating the Umbara Yakṣa.³ Bhadrā saw a ripening field, and the son born to her was named Śālībhadrā (rice-luck).⁴ A child was named Ujjhita as he was abandoned immediately after his birth.⁵ The girl Davadantī was so named because when the mother was with the child, she saw in her dream an elephant (*danti*) being burnt in a forest fire (*dava*).⁶ The boy Dhammilla was so named because his mother had a pregnancy-longing to perform religious deeds.⁷ At the birth of a child various ceremonies such as putting the navel vein, the night vigil, pointing out the moon and the sun to the child and so on, were performed.⁸

Wedding Ceremony: Like birth ceremony the wedding ceremony also abounds in omens related to motifs. Tribal people enjoyed a simple, innocent and natural sexual life without any taboo. They did not admire celibacy, and considered it to be dangerous to remain celibate. They had their village dormitories where young boys and young girls indulged in sexual congress.⁹ *Vyāgharanaśālā* was a kind of dormitory, situated in the heart of the village in the country of Tosali where a fire-vessel was constantly kept burning. Several slave boys and a slave girl entered into the hall and the girl chose one of the boys as her husband.¹⁰

¹ *Triṣaṣṭisattikāpuruṣacarita*, I, 134ff. For *Śrīvātsa*, see the *Vasudeva*, 636, 547, 593.

² *Nāḍa*, I, 20f.

³ *Vivā*, 7, 44.

⁴ *Śālībhadracarita*, 2, 51.

⁵ *BHBH*, II, 601.

⁶ *Kathākośa*, 195.

⁷ *VH*, 27, 8-9, *The Vasudeva*, 582. For the name-giving festival, see *TSP*, II, 65f.

⁸ *LAI*, 150f.

⁹ Elwin, *The Muria and Their Ghotul*, 419ff.

¹⁰ *Bṛh. Bhā*, 2, 3446.

(i) An astrologer played an important role in fixing the wedding day. While proclaiming the day, the time and the constellation for the wedding of princess Kuvalayamālā, the astrologer declared that such an auspicious moment as that would never occur again in the next twelve years.¹

(ii) The girls took a vow to marry the one who excelled in the acquisition of knowledge or art, or completed the uncomplete verse.²

(iii) Meeting of lovers was held in a temple. The meeting of Rukminī and Śisupāla was to take place in a Nāga temple when Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva managed to kidnap her in his chariot.³ Dhamilla made a sign to Vimalasenā to meet him in a Bhūta temple.⁴ King Ratnaśekhara and princess Ratnāvati met in the Kāmadeva temple in Sūphaladvīpa.⁵

(iv) Young men and women fell in love while enjoying a festival in a pleasure garden.⁶ To fall in love by seeing a portrait was common.⁷ The hero is made to marry a maiden after saving her from the onslaught of an infuriated elephant, either conquering or taming it through the lure of his lute.⁸ In a self-choice marriage a maiden was won by hitting an image or a fish.⁹ A king married his daughter offering half of his kingdom to the hero.¹⁰

(v) Abduction or to carry off or detain a girl with intent to marry or mate, was one of the most primitive forms of marriage. Kidnapping of another man's wife or a maiden was common among vidyādharas.

(vi) The wedding ceremony was performed by playing musical instruments, amidst pleasant songs of those women who were not

¹KVLM, 170, 5-11.

²VH, 121, 13-15, 182, 16-17, *The Vasudeva*, 195, 333; KVLM, 150, 13-14.

³VH, 80, 29.

⁴ibid, 54, 15.

⁵*Rayanaseharīkahā*, 16.

⁶*Samarā*, 2, 79ff.

⁷*Taraṅgalolā*, 1467, *Āva. Cū*, 89, BKK (55. 153ff), *The Ocean*, IV, pp. 132n. 207, 208.

⁸VH, 221, 11-28, *The Vasudeva*, 408f, KVLM, 154, 11-155, 13.

⁹*Śāntyācārya, Uttara*, 3, 160

¹⁰VH, 121, 26-27, Bloomfield, *The Life and Stories*, 186; also see *Folk-tales of Mahākashī* (393f) where a king offers half of his kingdom to a devotee, who rescued a woman, a lion and a bird.

widows. The ritual was joined with recitations of bards and panegyrists. The precious clothes and ornaments offered to the bridegroom had ritualistic importance. Women carried golden pitchers¹ filled with fragrant water, and an ablution ceremony was performed. The parents offered oblation and parched grains were offered to fire. The bride and the bridegroom were dressed in white silken garments, and the bride holding the hand of the groom walked around the fire.² Barbers were summoned for clipping nails.³ The polar star was pointed out to the bride wishing her to remain united firmly with her husband.⁴ According to certain custom, while the bridegroom entered the marriage pavilion, his eyebrows were touched with a golden pestle enshrined with a jewelled girdle.⁵

Chastity or Act of Truth The motif is traced in world literature. The idea behind the motif is that there is nothing which cannot be accomplished by truth. Truth is the sole power by means of which "one can cross the ocean and fire loses its effect."⁶ By the power of truth, an enchanter causes rain to fall, fire to turn back and poison to become harmless. It is by her power of chastity that a woman's touch raised the fallen elephant,⁷ invoked to free captives, counteracted poison, cured leprosy and healed wounds.⁸ In the Buddhist literature, by her act of truth, the courtesan Bindumati made the water of the Ganges flow backward.⁹ Burlingame has remarked, "Man, gods, powers of nature, all animate and inanimate things alike obey the truth." "The act of truth is always up the Hero's—and the narrator's—sleeve, and when all other means of escape have failed, when the plot has come to a hopelessly dead end, he can get out of the dilemma by employing it."¹⁰

Chastity tests are held by undergoing through various ordeals such as holding red-hot metal in hand, plunging into boiling oil,

¹108 water pitchers sanctified by chants are referred to in the *VH*, 196, 19-22

²*ibid*, 180, 5-7, *The Vasudeva*, 324. In place of making seven steps round the sacred fire, only four steps are mentioned in the *KVLM*, 171, 11.12.

³*VH*, 213, 24-25, *The Vasudeva*, 390

⁴*VH*, 280, 24, 27-28, *The Vasudeva*, 476

⁵*Samadā*, 2, 97. For other customs, see *TSP*, 1, 144ff, III, 34.

⁶*Panhavāgarna*, II; *PSI*, 94.

⁷Penzer, *The Ocean*, I, Introduction, chastity Index Motif, pp. 165-68

⁸Maria Leach, *op. cit.*, I, 8

⁹*Milinda*, 121f

¹⁰*JRAS*, 429ff, July, 1917, after *Folk-tales of Mahakoshal*, 186ff.

drinking poison, weighing into a scale and so on. Thurston has referred to a judicial ordeal by snake-bite in Travancore. The accused thrust his hand into a mantle in which a cobra was wrapped up. If the person was bitten by the cobra he was declared guilty.¹ The Mundas take their oath by taking on their head a tiger skin, or bamboo leaves, or fire, or cowdung, or rice, or a clod of earth.² Among Orāons it is customary that if a person is suspected of theft, he is made to dip one of his arms into the boiling liquid of cowdung, or a burning charcoal is kept on the palm of his hand.³ A person's truth-fulness is put to test by weighing him in a weighing scale. If he is guilty the scale would bend down.⁴

Another test of chastity is the withering of flowers if a person was guilty. Śilavatī handed over a garland to her husband while he was to set out for a journey. She declared that as long as she remained chaste the flowers of the garland would never wither.⁵ It is said that Lord Śiva bestowed Guhasena and Devasmitā a red lotus with a warning that infidelity on the part of either, would cause the other's flowers to wither.⁶ In the *Tūtī-Nāmā* it is a rose flower that a soldier receives from his wife on his parting, and in the *Totā-Kahānī* a bouquet of flowers is an index of his wife's chastity.⁷ In a Bhūiya folk-tale a woman gives her husband a wreath of flowers assuring him that as long as the flowers remained fresh, he could be sure of her chastity.⁸

Five ordeals were suggested by Sitā to put her virtue to test : entering into a blazing fire, eat rice, mount the scales, drink the heated bath-water of gods, and seize the ploughshare by her tongue. Out of these she was made to enter into a blazing fire.⁹ It is said

¹Omens, 123, For the ordeals of the tribes of the Birbhum district, see *Bengal District Gazetteer of Birbhum*, 33f

²Roy, S C., *The Mundas and Their Country*, 241ff.

³Roy, B C., *The Orāon of Chota Nagpur*, 410ff. Tiruttakadeva had to prove his purity of thought by this means, *supra*, p 16

⁴VH, 295, 12-14. Read A B. Keith's article on Ordeal (Hindu) in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, IX, 524 Here various ordeals mentioned in the *Yajurvedasmṛti* are described, one of them is the ordeal of the balance Also see H Parker, *Village of Folk-Tales*, I, 140

⁵Kumdra, III, 6.

⁶Kathāsaritsāgara, 2 5.

⁷Ruth Norton, *The Life-Index*, 223, *Studies in Honour of M. Bloomfield*, 1920.

⁸Roy, *The Hill of Bhūiyas*, 271.

⁹TSP, IV, 331.

that by the power of Subhadrā's chastity, the city doors opened automatically and that water could be held in a sieve.¹

A merchant's wife had illicit connections with a young man. The father-in-law reported the matter to his son, but the wife denied the fact. It was decided that in order to testify her chastity she should be made to enter a yakṣa temple. The ordeal resulted in a guilty person remaining inside, whereas the non-guilty came out free. The merchant's wife visited the yakṣa temple who was her own paramour in disguise. She declared, "If I love any other person except the man whom I had been given in marriage, 'you the ghost' should know." With these words she came out of the temple proving her innocence.²

There is a popular story of a queen, who, at the dead of night, used to meet her paramour, an elephant-keeper. She is reviled and beaten by him for coming late. She feels sorry, makes love with him and returns to her palace. This incident was noticed by an old chamberlain, who was in-charge of the royal seraglio. He moralises on the queen's actions. The queen and the elephant-keeper both are chastised and banished by the king. Later, the queen abandons her paramour and runs away with a thief.³ A king who loved his queen so intensely that he neglected his royal duties. As a result he was exiled by his ministers. On the way the king took special care of his queen by feeding her from his own flesh and blood. As they proceeded further, the queen saw a lame man, fell in love with him and left her own husband.⁴ In similar circumstances Laksamī, in order to

¹*Das Cū*, I, 49ff. Owing to the power of her spotless chastity, the lion, the elephants, the forest fire, and the serpents could do no harm to Davadanti, Tawney, *Kathākosa* 207ff.

²*Das Cū*, 89-91, also *Śuka*, 15. The story is important from the point of view of world literature. The oldest datable form of this story takes us to the 5th century AD. It is translated by Chavannes, *Cing Centes*, I, No. 116 from the Chinese *Tripitaka*; Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, III, I, 382.

³*DSMV*, 49-50. In the *Pārśva*, Nayanāvalī is discovered in the company of a hunchbacked night watchman, Bloomfield, 195. In the *Bhāttaparīṇā* (122) and *Bhagavatī Āradhanā* (949) the queen runs away with a lame man. cf. *Devavāṇīpakathānaka* (85) in the *BKK*, also *Samarā* (4 292f); *Parī* (2 646-611), *Śuka* (5-9). In the *Kundāla Jātaka* (536) and the Toda Story the elephant keeper is replaced by a cripple, in the longer kota version it is a blind and a lame man, Emeneau, *Studies in the Folk-tales of India*, III, *JAOS*, 67, also *Arabian Nights*, I, Story 2, 95.

⁴*Dharmopadeśamālā-Vivarana*, pp. 198f.

get rid of her husband, follows a robber.¹ Sāmadattā, first, falls in love with Agaḍadatta, then makes an attempt to kill him in order to accept a murderer as her husband.² Priyavirā killed her own husband, who was a teacher, and made love with his young pupil.³ In the *Jātaka* story, the wife pushes down her husband from the hill and accompanies a wretched cripple.⁴ In a Muria story, the Ranee fell in love with a *fakir* and pushed her husband into a well. Later both were punished by driving iron nails through their bodies.⁵ There is a Santal story of a prince's wife. When she entered the house of a *Gosāin*, he asked her as to why she came late. She said that she was detained by her husband. Then in order to test her fidelity, he asked her to bring her husband's head. She obeyed him, but the *Gosāin* beat her and drove her away.⁶ It is noteworthy that half of the stories narrated in the *Sukasaptati* are of the same type in which a beautiful clever woman cheats her husband, who takes her by surprise, being in the company of her paramour.

Motif of Incest Incest is a sexual intercourse within the prohibited degrees of kindred:

Sister-Brother Incest It is said that Ṛṣabha, the first Tīrthaṅkara of Jains, married his own sister, who gave birth to a twin, Bharata and Brāhmī.⁷ According to a tribal theory of creation, the world was caused to be created in Śiva inducing brother and sister to make love to each other.⁸ We come across various references of a similar type in Jain narrative literature. King Puṣpaketu's queen gave birth to a twin, a boy and a girl, when they grew up, they loved each other so intensely that they were permitted to marry.⁹ Prince Gardabha of Ujjaini was enamoured of his sister and lived with her as her husband.¹⁰ It is said that the sister marriage was in vogue in the

¹*Samarā*, 6, 517ff

²*VH*, 48, 22-30 ³*BKK*, 15, 2-5

⁴Caston Paris in the *ZVV*, XIII, 1903 traces this story in Oriental and Romance fairy-tales literature, Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, I, 130n

⁵*Folk-tales of Mahakoshal*, 315-15.

⁶*Folklore of Santal Parganas*, 187f.

⁷*Jambu*, II, 21 Commentary, *Āva. Nir*, 195f, *VH*, 162, 8-9, *Āva. Cū.*, 152f; *TSP*, I, 154 (202n)

⁸Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, *Asceticism*, 112f.

⁹*Āve Cū*, 177f, *Parī*, 6.95-102.

¹⁰*Bṛh. Bha.*, 1. 1155-59.

country of Golla.¹ The Sister-marriage prevailed among Santalas.² The custom existed in ancient society of Egypt, Persia, Peru, Siam, Ceylon and other places. In Egyptian mythology, Isis, the goddess, is both wife and sister of Osiris.³ In Greek mythology, Cronus, at the behest of his mother, castrated his father and married his sister.⁴ In an American Indian tale a loon women married her brother.⁵ In this connection Cunningham's Archaeological Report (XXI, 179), containing a legend attached to Kothila Math at Rajpur, is interesting. A *Banjara's* wife dies after giving birth to two children, a boy and a girl. The boy was entrusted to one friend and the girl to another. Later they were married to each other. Once the girl observed a mark on her husband's body and told him that she had a brother with a similar mark. The boy also remembered that he had a sister similar to her. Thus having become aware of their relationship they felt sorry and prayed for forgiveness of their sin. Then the earth opened beneath them and they were swallowed up. Later a tower was built up on their remains.⁶

Father-Daughter Incest It is stated that Dakṣa Prajāpati married his own daughter from whom was born Triprsthā, the ninth Vāsu-deva.⁷ The merchant Kuberadatta enjoyed sexual pleasures with his own daughter.⁸ A father had sexual relations with his daughter under the guise of a yakṣa.⁹ In Greek mythology, Oedipus, king of Thebes, killed his father and married his mother. Gaea was both wife and daughter of Uranus. Among Orāons marriage was permitted between grand-parents and grand-children. The members of this tribe addressed their grand-father, father and father-in-law as *bā*, and their grand-son, son and son-in-law as *bābu*.¹⁰

¹ *Āva. Cū*, II, 81

² *Folk-tales of Santal Parganas*, 164, 405.

³ Maria Leach, op. cit., I, 165, under 'Brother-Sister Incest'

⁴ Alan Dundes, op. cit., 64

⁵ See Maria Leach, op. cit., II, 644

⁶ *Folk-tales of Mahakoshal*, 571f, also read stories Nos 5-8, 381-91. We have a similar story of Kuberadatta and Kuberadattā. They recognised each other by seeing the signet ring worn by them from their childhood, *VH*, 10, 27-12, 12; also *Parī*, 2, 224-314.

⁷ *VH*, 275, 25-276, 16, *Āva Cū*, 232, *TSP*, III, 15f

⁸ *Bhattacharīnā*, 113

⁹ *Uttarā Cū*, 2, 89

¹⁰ S.C. Roy, *The Orāons*, 352ff

Mother-Son Incest: There are instances of sexual relations between mother and son. Prince Haricandra had such relations with his mother.¹ A young man used to visit a prostitute who was his own mother.² Kanakamālā, who brought up Pradyumna as her own son, fell in love with him and wanted him to live with her as her husband.³ Marriage with one's step-mother was permitted among certain Brahmanas (*vipra*).⁴ Sikhalol had sexual relations with his mother. After knowing this his father swung an axe on him, who in return, cut off his father's head and lived with his mother.⁵ In a polyandrous marriage the fathers and sons had a common wife between them. If the wife of the fathers died, they could either remarry with their son's wife, or the sons might marry the fathers' second wife.⁶

Abandonment of Wife. The wife may be abandoned in a boat or a ship, or left on an island, or in a forest, or thrown into the water or cast into a pit. Damayantī was left alone in a forest by her husband while she was sleeping. The husband of Narmadāsundarī got suspicious of her fidelity and went away leaving her alone on an island.⁷

Veṇibandha or Binding up of Braided Hair. It is worn by widows and women who mourn for their absent husbands. When Cārudatta returned from his long journey, he loosened Vasantatilakā's braid as she remained faithful to him in his absence.⁸

Deaf Family A deaf family consisted of an old couple, their son and the daughter-in-law. When the son was ploughing his farm, a traveller passed by. He inquired about the proper direction of his journey. The young man thought that the traveller was abusing his bullocks. He lifted up his plough and rushed to hit him. After a while, his wife brought food for him. The young man complained to her about the traveller. She thought that her husband was complain-

¹ *Āva. Cū*, 170, also *Bṛh Bhā*, 4 5220-23

² *VH*, 13, 7-25

³ *ibid*, 92, 5-8

⁴ *Āva. Cū.*, II, 81, *Āva. Vr*, 580a; *Kathāsaritsāgara*, VII, 116ff.

⁵ Alan Dundes, *op cit.*, 114ff.

⁶ H R.H Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark, *Pattern of Polyandry in Tibet and India*, 47ff, *Anthropology and Archaeology*, 1969.

⁷ Mahendrasūri, *Narmadāsundarikāhā*.

⁸ *VH*, 154, 19, *The Vasudeva*, 306.

ing that the food was without salt. She said that she was not responsible for that as the food was prepared by his mother. When she came home she told her mother-in-law what was told by her son. At that time the mother-in-law was spinning. She thought that her sister-in-law did not like her coarse spinning. She called out her husband and said that the coarse thread would be used for his clothes. At the moment the old man was supervising the oilseed. He thought that his wife was accusing him of stealing the seeds.¹ We have a similar Santal folklore. When a Santal was cultivating his farm a traveller inquired about the right direction. The Santal was deaf and did not understand his language. He thought that the traveller was claiming his bullocks.²

Funeral Customs and Beliefs After Rsabha died, his body was placed on a pyre prepared with sandalwood, Agallochum and *devā-daru* (Pinus Deodar). Then fire was set to it adding fragrant substances, ghee and honey.³ The corpses were left uncared at the mercy of wild beasts and birds.⁴ They were thrown in a hollow lake or a flowing river.⁵ Sometimes a person threw himself among the corpses of human beings and animals, allowing his body to be eaten by vultures.⁶

RELIGIOUS MOTIFS

Kind and Unkind Motif The kind hero or heroine is rewarded and the unkind punished. This motif frequently occurs in folklores of Europe, Asia, Africa and America. It is a moralising didactic motif combined with many other motifs. Jain texts are full of didactic tales when virtuous people are rewarded and acquire a better life in the next birth, whereas the wicked ones are punished and have to undergo untold suffering in the life to follow.

Fruits of Past Deeds and Rebirth There is a maxim: "Whatsoever

¹*Brh Bha*, 1, pp 909-910, *Vinoda*, Story 2

²*Folklore of Santal Parganas*, 347f

³*VH*, 185, 8-12, *VH*, 124, 4, *TSP*, 1, 363ff

⁴*Mahānīśītha*, *LAI*, 241, *Bhag Ārā*, 1994

⁵*Brh Bha*, 3, 4624

⁶*Oṽā*, 38, 162f, *Nisī Sū*, 11, 92; *Nisī Bha*, 11, 3806 and *Cūrṇi*. For elaborate rules for disposing of dead bodies of Jain monks see *Brh. Sū.*, 4 29 and its *Bhāṣya* (5497-5555) *Bhag Ārā*, 1474-2000, also *LAI*, 241f

a man soweth that shall he reap. "A sinner must be punished sooner or later, if not in one state of existence, in the following existences. Just as good deeds lead to happiness so do the evil deeds to suffering and pain. Physical disabilities, poverty and misfortune are said to be the fruits of the past deeds committed in previous life. Princess Madanasundari being questioned by her father, replied that she lived by her own *karmas*, and not by the king's favour. The father annoyed with his daughter's reply, got her married to a leper. Later we are told that due to the virtuous deeds of her previous life, her husband was cured and both lived a happy life.¹ There is a similar folk-tale from Rajpur district. A Raja had three sons. Two of them declared that they prospered by Raja's favour, while the youngest one retorted that he flourished by his own actions. The Raja got annoyed with the youngest son. He got him married to a low class girl and sent both of them out of his kingdom. Ultimately, the young man thrived by his own efforts.²

Recollection of Previous Birth The heroes and heroines fell in love after recollecting the previous birth. The Jain monks are seen narrating the previous life of their devotees and enlightening them to follow virtuous life.

Held in Relation to One Another by the Tie of Love or Hatred through a Succession of Parellel Births This is known as *nidāna* or claiming the reward of the penitential acts. Nandiṣeṇa, a poor Brahman boy, was abandoned by his parents. He felt frustrated in love as no girl would like to marry him. Once he saw some young men sporting with young ladies in a pleasure garden. In course of time, he joined the ascetic order. Now, while practising penance, he expressed a strong desire that if there were any power in his penance, let him be reborn a handsome youth in the following existence.³ In his previous life Kāṃsa was not shown due respect by Ugrasena. When the former was practising penance, Ugrasena invited him, but every time he invited, he forgot to entertain the ascetic. Kāṃsa felt aggravated and bore enmity towards his host. Later he was reborn as Ugrasena's son and put his father in prison.⁴ Under similar circum-

¹*Sirivālakahā*, 90ff, p. 18, Tawney, *Kathākośa*, 186-189

²*Folk-tales of Mahakoshal*, 173ff.

³*VH*, 114, 26-118, 20; *The Vasudeva*, 187f.

⁴*VH*, 368, 6-16, *The Vasudeva*, 550f.

stances, the ascetic Agnisarmā, in order to take revenge of prince Guṇasena, is born as his enemy in nine successive births.¹

Grāmya-Devatā or Village-Deity. The worship of a village-deity is almost universal. The Maranga Buru is the chief deity of the Santal tribe. The guilty Cakradeva was taken to the forest of a town-deity, where the deity declared him to be innocent.² The Yakṣa Moggara-pāṇi was a family-deity of a gardener. When the gardener's wife was raped by six debauched persons, the deity is said to have entered the gardener's body and killed the offenders by his iron mace.³ We are told of a wooden figure of a family-deity, placed on the summit of a mountain.⁴

Teaching of Cooking Formerly, the *kalpavṛkṣaṣ* or wish-fulfilling trees provided everything what people desired. Later, when their power diminished, Rṣabha, the first king, taught people cooking by producing heat. People were instructed to crush and skin the grains with their hands and eat them. They were asked to wet them with water and put them in a vessel of leaves. In order to heat the grains they were asked to put them in their hands, then put them in heat under the arms and eat them. At this time, fire was produced from rubbing of tree branches. He taught them cooking on fire, then gradually earthen pots were introduced for cooking purposes.⁵ There is a similar motif of cooking by the heat of the body among *kotas* with the difference that the Jain account of food is vegetarian, whereas the other is non-vegetarian.⁶

The Beginning of Things In Jain tradition, Rṣabha, the first and the foremost ruler, was the first founder of the rules of morality. While he was ruling, people were happy; there was no mutual mistrust and jealousy amongst them, hence there was no provision for punishment. At that time the desire-yielding trees provided all kinds of comforts to people without effort on their part, including deli-

¹*Samarā*, 1, also *TSP*, III, 12, read the story of Citta and Sambhūta (*Uttarā Vr*, 13, 185af, of Marubhūti and Kamaṭha in the *Pārśva*, Bloomfield, *The Life and Stories*, Introduction, 13ff. In the *Dhammapada* (Buddhaghōṣa's Commentary 21.2) girl eats the eggs of a hen; the hen prays that she may be born as the girl's enemy in 500 successive births.

²*Samarā*, 2, 115f.

³*Antagaḍa*, 6, 37ff, Śāntiśācārya, *Uttarā*, 6, 110, p. 112.

⁴*Kahārāyana*, *Nāgadattakathānaka*, 18a.

⁵*VH*, 162, 30-163, 6, *Āva Cū*, 154ff, *TSP*, 1, 151ff.

⁶Emeneau, *Studies in Folk-tales of India*, III, *JAOS*, 67.

cious food, excellent costumes, precious ornaments, house utensils, dwelling houses, pleasant music, and so on.¹

In course of time, as the power of these heavenly trees diminished and dissension developed due to family matters, a nominal punishment was introduced.² We have a similar account in the folk-tales of Santals. It is said that in the beginning the rice grew which needed not to be stripped of husks, and the cotton plants bore ready-made clothes. But all that was spoiled by the misdeeds of a girl, and since then the Thakur Baba deprived men of the benefits conferred by him.³

Destruction of World or Pralaya: In Jain tradition, towards the end of the Descending Era, of Great Sorrow, terrific storms would blow and there would be dust all over. At that time except the mountain Vaitāḍhya and the rivers Gangā and Sindhu, everything else would perish and the whole earth would be blazing with fire. At this time the kind-hearted *vidyādharas* and the heavenly gods would descend to the earth. They would pick up the pairs of human beings and carry them to some caves where they could live on fish, tortoises and dead bodies.⁴ The Santal folklore records a similar account. Sing Chando chose out a young man and a young woman and asked them to go to a cave. When they reached there, he closed the cave from outside. Then he raised fire from heaven so that every other living being on the earth was destroyed. Later a new race was raised by this pair.⁵

The Dough Cock Motif or Piṣṭakurkuṣa According to an old custom, in order to avert evil, a fowl has to be sacrificed at the altar of a deity. But in Jain religion it is criminal to injure even the image of a living being which is an extreme attitude of Jains towards *ahimsā*. A certain king got a cock made of dough and beheaded it in front of the goddess Kālī. Then in order to avert evil, he ate the 'meat' of

¹For 10 *Kalpavṛkṣas* see *Sama*, 10; *VH*, 157, 6-7; *TSP*, I, 30, 94f. *Kalpataru* is one of the five trees of Indra's paradise. It is said to have existed in Ceylon. Parallel stories are found in Christianity, Islam and other Eastern religions, *The Ocean*, I, Foreword, p. XXIV; also V S. Agrawala, *Ancient Indian Folk Cults*, 118ff.

²*Jambu*, 2, *Āva. Cū*, 553f.

³*Folklore of Santal Parganas*, 402ff.

⁴*Jambu*, 2, 18-40; *Trilokaśāra*, 778-867.

⁵*Folklore of Santal Parganas*, 402ff.

the cock. But even destroying the dough cock caused a sinful *karma* for which the king had to suffer in the following birth.¹

Human Sacrifice. Human sacrifice is very old. It is often performed to pacify a deity.² We are told that when the ship did not float smoothly along the sea water, the merchants on the ship found out a person endowed with 32 marks, and sacrificed him to the sea-deity.³ The family-deity was propitiated by sacrificing ten human beings, or a pair of human beings possessed of all marks.⁴ We are told of a Kāpālīka, who in order to sacrifice a man to goddess Kālīkā (Durgā), held him by hair.⁵

The Hawk and the Dove Motif. It is a motif of self-sacrifice and abnegation, which is also noticed in the Brahmanic and Buddhist literature. A certain dove, pursued by a hawk, asked the king for refuge. Immediately the hawk flew there and demanded its prey from the king. The king offered to give his own flesh to the hawk instead. A scale was brought and the king started weighing his flesh against the dove. But the dove seemed to weigh more and more in the balance. At this time the king threw his whole body on the scale. Thereupon hawk assumed his real form of a celestial being, praised the king's compassion and went away.⁶ The same version is noticed in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (188-197) excepting that the king is Śīvi, Indra assumes the form of a hawk and the Dharma that of a dove. In the *MBH* (III, 100f, 197, XIII 32) a compassionate king gives his flesh and blood to save the life of a dove. In the Buddhist

¹*Samarā*, 4, 302f. Also see Puṣpadanta, *Jasahara*, 2, 17-20, Bloomfield, *The Life and Stories*, 195ff, 57; *BKK*, 73226

²Human sacrifice is noticed in a variety of aspects. (i) The wild folk of mountains such as residing in the Vindhya range, the Śābaras, Bhīllas, Pulindas, Tāṇikas etc., are in habit of offering men to Durgā (ii) wicked Kāpālīkas or wicked demons while worshipping Śīva, need human sacrifice (Bloomfield, *The Life and Stories*, Add Note 27, pp 205f) For details see Upendra Thakur, *An Introduction to Ancient and Early Medieval Period*, pp 14-42

³*Sīrīvālakahā*, 389-91, p 73

⁴*Samarā*, 6, 515, *BKK*, 73 248-256 "eenie, meenie, miny, moe" is an ancient magic rhyme used in Druid times to choose victims for human sacrifice, Alan Dundes, *The Study of Folklore*, 84

⁵Bloomfield, op cit, 49f

⁶*VH*, 337, 5-338, 4. In this connection Dr T.V.G Shastri of Bhopal has drawn my attention to the Kapoteśwara Temple Cherala, near Narasaraopet in Guntur District (A.P)

Śivi-jātaka (No. 499) the king Śivi tears out both his eyes in order to save a beggar.¹ Still another version of the motif is recorded in the *Pañcākhyāna* (Book III, Tale viii, pp. 200-204), a Jain recension of the *Pañcatantra*. Here a male dove burns himself in order to satisfy the hunger of a hunter. The hunter had caught the dove's wife because he had nothing to offer his 'guest'. The female dove, as a faithful wife, follows her husband's foot-steps and jumps into the fire. Seeing this the wicked hunter was deeply touched; he gave up his profession and joined the ascetic life.² A different form of the motif is noticed elsewhere. Dhaṛaṇa offers his wife his own flesh from his thigh and blood from his arm; the flesh after being roasted in the forest-fire³ was eaten.

POPULAR MOTIFS

Legless and Blind Boys Cured. Two boys were caught in a forest fire; one was lame, the other was blind. As the legless boy could not get out of the forest the blind boy rescued him. The blind boy carried the legless boy, who, with his eyes could direct him where to go.⁴

Society of the Vile Brings Death There is a fable of the swan and the crow. While a king was resting under the shade of a tree, the crow defecated upon his head and flew away. At the very same time, a swan was found sitting on the tree, who was shot down.⁵ Elsewhere crow is replaced by owl.⁶

Count not Your Chicken Before They are Hatched. It is a motif of

¹The motif is noticed in the parable of selfish religious Brahman and the unselfish Pulinda tribe. Seeing one eye missing of God Śiva, the Pulinda eked out his own eye and replaced it, whereas the Brahman simply worshipped the deity and went away, *Bṛh. Bhā. Vr. Pī.*, 252 cf. the story of Hatim Tai who cuts a slice of flesh from his thigh and offers to a wolf who was pursuing a milch-doe, *The Ocean*, I, 85 fn 2. Also see *Avadānaśataka* (No. 34), Bloomfield, *The Life and Stories*, pp. 192, 161f.

²cf. *Mahābhārata*, XII. 143-149

³*Samarā*, 6, 518, *DSMV*, 158f.

⁴See *Āva. Nīr.*, 101-2; *Āva. Vr.*, 70a. The motif has been recorded by Maria Leach, op. cit., I, 612.

⁵*Pārśva*, II 306-22, Bloomfield, *The Life and Stories*, 32, 187-88, also Bloomfield's article, on Recurring psychic Motif in Hindu Fiction, *JAOS*, 36, p. 62.

⁶*Bhag. Ārā*, 348, *BKK*, 32

ancestry of hundreds of years. Max Müller has observed : "It seems a startling case of longevity, that while languages have changed, while works of art have perished, while empires have risen and vanished again, this simple children's tale should have lived on and maintained its place of honour and undisputed sway in every schoolroom of the East and every nursery of the West."¹ This tale has various versions in different languages. A certain beggar obtains a pot of milk from a cow-pen. He came home and keeping the pot towards the side of his feet, rested on the cot. He started meditating as follows : "I would prepare curds out of the milk, sell the curds and buy a hen. The hen will lay eggs, by selling them I shall get a she-goat. By selling she-goat I shall buy a cow. I shall be an owner of bulls. By selling bulls I shall earn plenty of money. Then I shall marry a beautiful girl, who will carry out my commands. If sometime she happened to disobey me out of her family pride, I shall strike her with my foot and drive her out of home." And alas ! while the beggar lifted up his foot to strike his 'wife', it struck the milk-pot and the milk was scattered all over the ground.² Almost the same tale is narrated in the *Pārśvanāthacarita* ³ In the *Vinodakathāsaṅgraha*, barley flour is substituted for milk ⁴ In a Santal version, the wife of a Santal brings water for the husband which he refuses by shaking his head, indicating 'no, no'. Thus the basket full of oil-pots which he was carrying on his head falls and the oil was scattered all over.⁵ In a Panjab tale, a soldier carries an earthen jar full of *ghee* which falls down and the *ghee* runs about the street ⁶

To Make One Fall Into the well, And then to Come Out The motif is mentioned in various Jain Texts. Cārudatta was made to descend into a well by a mendicant. Later he managed to come out with great difficulty, catching hold of an alligator's tail.⁷ Dharana was pushed into a well by his enemy. He could come out with the help of a passer-by, who happened to arrive there to draw water.⁸

¹Clouston, *Popular Tales*, II, 443, after Elwin, *Folk-tales of Mahakoshal*, 275

²*Vya. Bhā Vr*, 3, p 7a

³2 1015-26, Bloomfield, op. cit , 71

⁴Story 34 Also in *Hitopadeśa* (4 8), *Pañcatantra*, Penzer (v. 229)

⁵*Folklore of Santal Parganas*, 141

⁶Swynnerton, *Romantic Tales*, 182ff, after *Folk-tales of Mahakoshal*, 275
For the Gond version, see *ibid*, 276ff

⁷VH, 147, 4-20, *The Vasudeva*, 670-73 Also see *Arabian Nights*, I, Story 3, 159

⁸*Samard*, 2, 123f.

Proclamation by Drum: A person tied up his belly with an iron plate holding the branch of a *Jambu* tree. He declared that his belly was about to burst by the fullness of learning, and he had no equal in the whole continent of Jambudvīpa. The respondent touched the drum and was produced before the king.¹

Washing Feet Out of Respect: The motif is mentioned in ancient Jain Texts. We are told that when the merchant Dhanadeva came home, Candanabālā got up and washed his feet.² Similarly, the wife of Vasubhūti offered seat to her husband and washed his feet.³ Among Santalas the custom of washing feet of the husband was in vogue if some mistake was committed by his wife.⁴ When a hunter returned home his wife received him at the door and washed his feet.⁵

Putting Grass on One's Head to Indicate that One is Willing to Sell oneself to Slavery: This seems to be an old motif. Hariścandra put up grass on his head indicating that he was willing to sell himself into slavery.⁶ We are told of a king who appeared with an axe tied to his neck as a sign of submission.⁷ A blind man, afflicted by poverty, used to beg in Ujjeni holding a tuft of grass between his teeth.⁸ We meet a Brahman who wanted to sell his daughter holding her on his head.⁹ A sixteen-year maid-servant, brought by Mahārāṇā Pratāp was sold with grass on her head.¹⁰

'Drinking Apart' Motif. A swan because of its sourish tongue splits the milk and eats the essence leaving aside water.¹¹ The councillors are compared with swans, who separates the milk of truth from the water of falsehood.¹² This motif is traced as far back as the *Rgveda* where a swan is able to separate the *soma* juice from the water when

¹Uttarā Vr., 3, 72, Bloomfield, *The Life and Stories*, 185

²Āva Cū., 318f.

³VH, 31, 5, *The Vasudeva*, 587

⁴Folklore of Santal Pargana, 359

⁵ibid, 417

⁶Pārśva, 3 377, Bloomfield, *The Life and Stories*, 191, 96

⁷Samard, 1, 150

⁸BKK, 3 5

⁹Kumāra, 3, Story of Tārā, p. 237.

¹⁰Dr. Hiranand, *Vijāptipatraka*, Baroda, 1942, after PSI, 469n.

¹¹Āva Ntr., 139, Āva Cū., 123, Śāntyācārya, Uttarā, 102.

¹²TSP, IV, 146.

both are mixed.¹ A Krauñca bird, or curlew, drinks apart milk in the *Maitreyī Samhitā*. From the Ṛgvedic times ants have the power of 'drinking apart' water from the desert sands.²

Smelling of Head The motif has been mentioned in various Jain texts King Srenika made his son Abhayakumāra sit on his throne and smelled his forehead out of affection.³ Aḡaḡadatta's mother embraced her daughter-in-law and smelled her head.⁴ Sītā's smelling of Lakṣmana's head is mentioned.⁵

Number-Motif Specific number are used in folk-tales. For example, five divine elements, seven nights, eight auspicious things, twelve years, fourteen dreams, 108 water pitchers, five hundred ministers, five hundred queens, one thousand hoods, etc., are commonly used.

Fire As Witness for Making Friendship: Rāma and Hanumān entered into alliance with fire as witness.⁶ At the time of marriage the boy and the girl enter into matrimonial alliance by going around fire.

Subduing Elephant by Throwing an Upper Garment: An elephant was subdued by throwing an upper garment before him. Various other means were employed to bring elephant under control.⁷

Thought Something and Happened Something Else A certain Brahman had planned that everything will pass on in an orderly manner, but when he returned home he found everything topsyturvy. The rice, he had planted turned into a heap of grass, his cow did not deliver, his son fell into a bad company and turned to be a dancer, and his daughter became pregnant due to bad association.⁸ In the well-known story of the housewife and the mangoose, the mangoose was mistaken to be the murderer of her child; but really speaking, he had saved the child from a poisonous snake.⁹ In another folk-tale, a faithful dog was killed by his master. When the true facts were known the master felt very repentant and killed himself.¹⁰

¹Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 1286

²See Bloomfield, *The Ocean*, VII, foreword, xix

³*Nāḡa*, 1, 14

⁴*VH*, 46, 10, *TŚP*, 11, 68

⁵*TŚP*, IV, 299 ⁶*VH*, 244, 4

⁷*Ibid*, 122 20-24; *The Vasudeva*, 199, *VH*, 221, 16-17, *The Vasudeva*, 408

⁸*VH*, 30, 22-31, 10, *The Vasudeva*, 587f

⁹*Āve Nir*, 139, *Āve Vr*, 93, *Brh Bha Vr Pī*, 56, *BKK*, 102.2 The same thing happened with a Tamara woman, D.N. Majumdar, *Races and Cultures of India*, 142f

¹⁰Emeneau, *JAOS*, 36, pp. 63f under 'Hasty Ingratitude or Strike But Hear'.

Motif of Rebounding Bow: A jackal notices three carcasses, one of an elephant, another of a man and the third one of a serpent. He piles them up thinking that he would eat them at ease. Instead of actually eating them, out of greed, he gnaws the sinew-end of the hunter's bow. As he started chewing the chord, it severed and pierced the throat of the jackal resulting in his death.¹

MOTIFS PERTAINING TO MAGIC

Divination It is a practice of the greatest antiquity performed everywhere in the world. Divination is an act or practice of seeking to know the future or hidden things by magical means. The diviners interpret dreams, read the sign of the flight of birds, or determine the precise configuration of the stars and planets at a given moment and thus interpret their meaning.²

Charms Charm or a spell is thought to possess occult power. Magic chants are thought as a means of averting impending danger. The priests or the witch-doctors use charms and incantation to fight evil influences, expel diseases, destroy enemies, summon spirits and endow objects with supernatural powers.³ It is said that by smelling a stick a person was transformed into a female ass.⁴ Varsena smelled the blossom of a tree and he was immediately transformed into an old ass.⁵

Cures It is a science practised by priests and witch-doctors. The monks possessed supernatural powers which could cure a patient simply by their touch, or mere application of their body's dirt, phlegm, excrement or urine.⁶ Leprosy was cured if the patient's body was rubbed with a particle of their phlegm. The bad effects of poison etc., disappeared from wind that had touched their body, Food etc., infected with poison, that was placed in their dishes or their mouths, became free from poison. Even their nails, hair, teeth etc., acted as medicines for patients.⁷ Leprosy is cured by worshipping

¹VH, 168, 26-169, 2, *Āva Cū*, 168f, for variations of the story, see *Pañcatantra*, *Mitrasamprāpti*, *Hitopadeśa*, *Mitratābha*; KSS, V 77, *Sarvāstivāda*, *Vinaya-vastu*, 121f, Bloomfield, Foreword, *The Ocean*, VII, pp. xix-xxii.

²Maria Leach, op. cit., I, 316 ³ibid, 213

⁴*Upadesamālāprakaraṇa*, *Supātrudāna*, after PSI 516.

⁵Bloomfield, *The Life and Stories*, p 150 and Note

⁶See *Āva. Nir*, 67-70; VH, 235, 1-2, 286, 23, 295, 2; *Āva. Cū*, 68-70.

⁷TSP, 1, 75f, III, 194

a mystical diagram known as *Siddhacakra*.¹ It is also healed by blood bath of a young horse.² In the *Arabian Nights* bloodbath is prescribed as a remedy for leprosy.³ Poison is cured by prayers, charms or charmed water. The jewel from the serpent's head was a cure for poison.⁴ In order to cure snake poison the worship of the eight Nāgakulas has been prescribed. Having prepared a pan with live coals, the witch doctor called forth the Nāgas and asked all of them, "Let the one who has bitten the person remain inside, and all others exit the *maṇḍala*." Thereupon one of them remained inside and the rest went out. The one who remained was told either take back the poison or enter the fire.⁵ It is said that Sāmadattā's snake-bite was cured by the touch of a *vidyādhara*.⁶ The sovereign kings are said to be free from the effect of fire, poison or a weapon.⁷ Various kinds of powders, spells, auspicious rites, roots, pills, medicines and herbs were employed for creating love, birth of a son, counter-acting enemies, winning battles and so on.⁸

Magic Arrows · Various types of deadly arrows such as *nāgabāna*, *tāmasabāna*, *vahnibāna*, *mahapurusaabāna*, *mahārudrabāna*, etc., were employed. The *nāgabāna* when shot forth went like a meteor, entered into enemy's body, transmuted into a snake and bound him like a noose. The darkness missile covered the battlefield with gloominess. The fire missile created fire all over.⁹ There were drums imbued with supernatural medicinal properties. One of such drums if sounded pacified the disease for six months.¹⁰ The conch *Pāñca-*

¹ *Śrīvālakahā*, 222-236.

² *VH*, 39, 4-5. In the *KVLM* (55, 16-18) the leprosy could be washed out at Vārāṇasī, or at the Sun Temple at Mūlasthana (mod. Multan), or by remaining in the service of Mahākāla Bhaṭṭāraka for 6 months.

³ I, 2, 75-77. In German folk-tale (Grim, *Household Tales*, 1, 396) leprosy is cured by bathing in a maiden's blood. Also see Penzer, *The Ocean*, 1, 97-98n, after *The Vasudeva*, 599n.

⁴ Bloomfield, *The Life and Stories*, 187.

⁵ *BKK*, 10 89-97, also see *Kahārayāna*, 214, *Kathakośaprakaraṇa*, 12f.

⁶ *VH*, 47, 5-6. ⁷ *Ibid.*, 239, 12.

⁸ *Nāyā*, 14, 151ff. *Niryā*, 3, 48f. *KSS*, 3 12 99f. *Ogha Niryukti*, Commentary, 597, p. 193n. By virtue of a necklace the defeat could be avoided in a battle, Tawney, *Kathakośa*, 38.

⁹ *Jivabhogama*, 3, 153, 283, *Jambuddivapannatti*, 2, 124a; *Rāmāyana*, 1 27 16f.

¹⁰ *Brh Bhā Pt*, 356. Overwhelmed with blowing of conch by Ariṣṭanemi, the whole world turned deaf and the heavenly gods and human beings trembled with fear, *Uttarā. Vṛ*, 19, 277a.

janya filled the sky with loud noise.¹ Various jewels have been mentioned. The *Cakra* jewel led a sovereign king to the conquest. The *Carma* jewel served him like a ship and helped to cross the river.² The *Daṇḍa* jewel helped him to open the doors of the cave, and *maṇi* jewel removed darkness.³

Return of Disc : There was a belief that a weapon discharged would harm only an enemy and not one's kindred. Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva discharged his *Sudarśana* disc to attack his son Pradyumna, but it came back to the owner.⁴ The *Cakra* discharged by Bharata against his brother Bāhubali, had no effect on him.⁵ A king made an attempt to behead a person but the sword turned into a garland, and when he tried to bound the culprit it turned into a chain of jewels.⁶

Disease : Disease is considered as visitation of god's wrath. It is a common place of folklore and common belief of all savages that disease and death are not the result of natural causes; they occur due to the wrath of devils, demons and evil eyes.⁷ Śūlapāṇi yakṣa spread pestilence and killed a person who dared to dwell in his shrine. In order to pacify the deity a shrine was constructed on the bones of dead bodies.⁸ Surapriya was another yakṣa, who was painted every year, if not painted he spread epidemics. As soon as the painting was over, he killed the painter.⁹

In order to cure the disease of elephants a deity was worshipped.¹⁰ People possessed of the Indra, Skanda, Kumāra, Yakṣa and Bhūta¹¹ were treated by demnologists; they were experts in the science of spirits or exorcism and employed various means such as soothing rites, enchantments, preservatives and offered *ball* to the evil spirits.¹² In order to ward off evil spirits the salt was waived, the

¹TSP, III, 44.

²A flying carpet is mentioned, *Pari*, 12.321

³The Vasudeva, 36, 36n, 37, TSP, I, 215ff, 262

⁴VH, 96, 22-25, The Vasudeva, 646

⁵TSP, I, 321; IV, 328

⁶VH, 295, 30-31

⁷Maria Leach, op. cit., I, 315, W. Crooke, *The Popular Religion*, I, Ch 3, 123; for godlings of disease, read pp 127-174.

⁸Āva. Cū., 272-274; Āva. Vṛ., I, 182.

⁹Āva. Cū., 87-91; Āva. Vṛ., 62.

¹⁰Kahārayana, 52a.

¹¹See Jambu, 120.

¹²Uttaradhyayana Vṛtti, 1, 5; 12, 174; Āva. Vṛ., 399af.

mustard was strewn and a protective amulet was tied.¹ It is said that when the king of Nāgas burnt the sons of sovereign king Sagara to death, Bhagiratha pacified him by offering *bali*.²

Magic Magic is a preliminary stage in the development of religion. To Frazer, magic is compulsion, whereas religion is propitiation.³ It is an art of controlling nature by supernatural means. Various magic arts have been described in Jain texts. Gaurī, Gandhārī, Rohinī and Prajñaptī⁴ are mentioned as four great magic arts. Jain monks employed various magical formulas and charms at the time of emergency. Bhadrabāhu was well-versed in the science of magical spells (*mantravidyā*). By applying a pigment to their eyes, two younger monks became invisible and enjoyed the royal food with the king.⁵ They could assume the form at will and fly in the air. Pills were employed to change the voice and the colour of a person.⁶ By swallowing a pill Varadhanu reigned unconscious; a royal maid-servant turned beautiful, and Mūladeva assumed the form of a dwarf.⁷ By employing magic art Sthūlabhadra is said to have assumed the form of a lion.⁸

Omens Omen is a sign of some future event, either good or bad. Various omens have been mentioned. Eight auspicious objects are mentioned in Jain texts.⁹ The sound of drums, shower of jewels, shower of five-coloured flowers, shower of fragrant rain and waiving of garments occur on auspicious occasions.¹⁰ A prominent umbrella was granted to prince Kuvalayacandra by the deity of

¹*Surasundarī*, 12, 11

²*VH*, 304, 16-17, *Uttarā Vr*, 18, 234af, *TSP*, II, 175, *LAI*, 219, 219n.

³Maria Leach, op cit., II, 660

⁴See *The Vasudeva*, pp 13n, 29n, 93, 637ff, *BKK*, 97.23ff, *TSP*, IV, 121f, III, 41, I, 173, 175f

⁵See *LAI*, 226ff. By the application of white collyrium, human beings assumed the form of camels, by the application of the black one they again became human beings, Tawney, *Kathākośa*, 135

⁶*VH*, 120, 15-16

⁷*LAI*, 229n, *Uttarā Vr*, 3, 59a

⁸*Parī*, 9 80, also see *TSP*, IV, 137, IV, 19, 33. For the power of self-transformation, see Macculloch, *The Childhood of Fiction*, pp. 160ff

⁹They are *svastika*, *śrīvatsa*, *nandīvarta*, *vardhamāna* (powder-flask), *bhadrāsana* (throne), *kalaśa* (pitcher), *darpana* (mirror) and *matsyayugma* (a pair of fish), *Nāyā*, 1, 32, *TSP*, I, Plate IV, *TSP*, 113 and note.

¹⁰*VH*, 324, 12-13, *Samarā*, 2, 152; *KVLM*, 181, 26-27, *TSP*, I, 181 and note.

Excellent Speech (*pravacana-devarā*); it fulfilled all his desires.¹ Animals, birds, trees, and plants are said to have brought good or bad luck. Suspicious lunar days (*stithi*), astrological divisions of days (*karana*) and constellations (*nakṣatra*) were selected at the time of performing ceremonies, setting out for a sea-voyage and so on.² When king Guṇasena proceeded to the battlefield, water-pitchers were set and auspicious musical instruments were sounded.³ Good and bad omens are mentioned with regard to throbbing of different parts of the body.⁴ Various omens were observed at the birth of a child, and various customs were followed to foretell the future of the new born.⁵ Cāṇakya was born with the set of his teeth complete whereupon a monk foretold that he was likely to become a king.⁶

Choice By Divine Will: It is the Five Oracle Method of finding a successor to the king. When a king died heirless and his heir was to be chosen from among the people, five divine articles such as an elephant, a horse, a pitcher, chowries and an umbrella were taken in a procession. The royal officers arrived at a place where Mūladeva was seated under a tree. Immediately seeing him the elephant trumpeted, the horse neighed, the pitcher sprinkled water, the chowries began to fan and the parasol placed itself above him. The officers announced the cries of victory, Mūladeva was made to mount the elephant and led to the city. He was declared a sovereign king.⁷ There is a similar legend about Karakaṇḍu. The horse was released as usual, which while moving around the prince, stood before him. The citizens noticed royal marks on his body, the cries of victory were uttered and the musical instruments were sounded. He was made to enter the city and was declared king.⁸ A robber was led for being executed. At this time the king died and no heir was left for the throne. According to the custom, a horse was taken around the town. The horse turned its back towards the

¹KVLM, 183, 20-21

²LAI, 236f; for cruel planets see TSP, I, 97n.

³Samarā, I, 200.

⁴See KVLM, 183, 24-184, 15, Tawney, *Kathākośa*, 111

⁵For unfavourable omens, see TSP, II, 167.

⁶Pari, 8.196-197.

⁷Uttarā. Vr., 3, 63a.

⁸ibid, 9, 134; BEK, 56.259-262; TSP, IV, 147 and n; LAI, 52f and n27.

robber and consequently the robber was installed on the throne.¹

In a Santal story two elephants help in choosing a successor to a heirless king. One of the elephants puts a golden necklace around the successor's neck, and the other lifts him up on its back and carries him to the city where he is declared king to the throne.²

Heavenly Voice: Heavenly voice or *ambaravācā* played an important role in a narrative.³

Gods do not Wink Their Eyes etc The gods move a finger's breadth above the ground, the Rākṣasas, have a huge body and their feet are big, and the Pīśācas are scared of watery land.⁴ The Rākṣasas, Yakṣas and Pīśācas have no power in day; they are dazed with the brightness of the sun, and therefore delight in the night. They never attack chaste men, heroes or men awake. Elsewhere, we are told that gods do not sweat, are dustless, do not wink their eyes, cast no shadows and do not touch earth with their feet.⁵

Flying Ascetics A flying ascetic or a *Cārana muni* has a quicker movement than a *vidyādhara*.⁶ A *vidyācārana* ascetic acquires the power of flying by his learning, whereas a *janghācārana* by his penance. The latter flies through the air by means of his legs supported by sun-rays.⁷

Long-lived Vidyādhara It is said that the hair and the clothes of a long-lived *Vidyādhara* had permanent fragrance; his hair was glossy with its roots unbroken.⁸

Power of Person Who is going to Achieve Liberation in that Very Existence (caramaśarīrī) Since the child Pradyumna, who was to achieve liberation in that very existence, was lying below on the surface of a rock, the aerial car of a *vidyādhara* got stuck in the air and could not move further.⁹

¹*Vya Bhā*, 4 169, Bloomfield, *The Life and Stories*, Add. note, pp. 199-202, Tawney, *Kaṭhakośa*, 4f. also Edgerton, *JAOS*, 30, pp. 158ff.

²*Folklore of Santal Parganas*, 184.

³*VH*, 34, 29; *KVLM*, 27, 22-3

⁴*VH*, 135, 20-21, *The Vasudeva*, 235f, *KVLM*, 132, 14-15.

⁵*The Ocean*, I, App I See Bloomfield, *The Life and Stories*, pp. 136, note 16. Rṣabha is said walking on golden lotuses (*TŚP*, I, 192) with his eyes devoid of winking (*ibid*, 298)

⁶*VH*, 309-8-9

⁷*TŚP*, I, 79n

⁸*VH*, 138, 10-11, *The Vasudeva*, 247.

⁹*VH*, 84, 17-18, *The Vasudeva*, 634.

Change of Sex: It is stated that Cittavegā assumed the form of a boy after some herb was thrust into her thigh. After the medicine was removed she was transformed into a girl again.¹ By the power of magical spell Vasudeva assumed the form of a woman.² The *Vetāl-apañcaviṃśatikā* refers to the change of sex from male to female and vice versa by the power of a deity, incantation or specific medicine.³

A Mechanician Sends an Artificial Maiden to Wait upon a Guest: Mechanical images of human beings were made which could move to and fro and wink their eyes. It is said that in the country of Yavana such images were turned into a large number and the new-comers were made to assume the form of a woman.⁴ A pair of mechanical doves (*yantrakapotamithunaka*), flying machine (*ākāśagamanayantra*), garuḍa machine (*garuḍayantra*), Horse-machine (*ghoṣakayantra*), bird-machine (*śakunayantra*), mechanical wheel (*cakrayantra*) and cock-machine (*kukkuṭayantra*) are mentioned.⁵ Wooden peacock machine is referred to in the folk-tales of Ceylon.⁶

The Runaway Horse: It often happens because of reversed training of the horse. The horse carries its master, the king or prince to a lonely place or jungle. Prince Sanatkumāra was carried away by a horse, who soon became invisible.⁷

Hidden Treasure is Guarded It is a common belief that treasure is guarded by serpents or house-lizards.⁸

Carrying Water in a Sieve: Maria Leach has called it a folk-tale motif used as task, punishment or means of escape.⁹ As stated earlier, by the power of Subhadrā's chastity, a sieve could hold water.¹⁰

Circumambulation or Pradakṣiṇā: It is a religious ceremony which is performed to show reverence. It is supposed to bring good luck, avert evil and cure diseases.¹¹

¹VH, 215, 8, *The Vasudeva*, 394

²*The Vasudeva*, 115f.

³15, 122f, also see Macculloch, *The Childhood of Fiction*, 65.

⁴*Brh Bhā*, 4, 4915; Bloomfield, *The Life and Stories*, Add. Note, 192ff

⁵VH, pp. 62f; *The Vasudeva*, 625-629.

⁶Parker, *Village Folk-tales of Ceylon*, II, 13-20 and Note 1, p. 21.

⁷*Uttarā. Vr*, 18, 236a; *KVLM*, 27, 2ff; *TSP*, III, 173f; also Bloomfield, op. cit., 204f, Tawney, *Kathakola*, 102.

⁸*TSP*, III, 158

⁹op. cit., I, 195

¹⁰*supra*, p. 60.

¹¹Maria Leach, op. cit., I, 234.

Alchemy: The alchemists are believed to transmute iron into gold. We are told in the Cārudatta story, how a mendicant smeared a piece of black iron with elixir, put it on the burning charcoal, blew it with bellows and changed into gold.¹ In the Egyptian art it is known as *kīmīyā* from which the word alchemy (*al-kīmīā*) is derived.²

THE MOTIF OF CONVERSATION OF BIRDS

Bird Language or Śakunaruta: Śakunaruta or sounding of birds plays an important role in the development of folk-tales. It has been counted among 72 arts described in ancient Jain texts. *Svara* or notes of birds, is reckoned as one of the eight important great signs (*mahānimitta*). Bloomfield has observed: "The imaginary conversation of birds is the standard source of information . . . The chirp and twitter and cluck of birds is the prime and natural source of otherwise inaccessible information. "This motif comes to our rescue when the reader or the hearer is perplexed and does not know what will happen next. At this crucial point the hero will overhear the language of the bird and thus the motif helps to release the impasse in the story"³ As the hero is supposed to be efficient in seventy-two arts he is endowed with the knowledge of the language of birds. Arabs believed that eating of heart or liver of a serpent produced the power of understanding the bird language. The Greek legend attributes the knowledge of birds to the licking of one's ears by snakes.⁴

Parrot in Folklore: In ancient folklore a parrot finds a most significant place among birds. According to a popular Gond tradition, Lord Śiva was once narrating the story of immortality and creation to kill the intruder. But the parrot rushed into the stomach of sage Vyāsa, who provided him protection. The parrot came out as Śuka,⁵ the son of Vyāsa, and preserved the story tradition. In this manner the parrot became the symbol of Śuka.⁶ Śuka also signifies a female

¹VH, 136, 22-23, *The Vasudeva*, 670f, It is called *dhātuvāda* in the *KVLM*, 195, 14ff; also see *TSP*, I, 75 and IV, 293f where the transformation of iron or copper into gold has been referred to.

²See *Arabian Nights*, III, Story 25, 353-364, after *The Vasudeva*, 673n.

³Bloomfield, *The Ocean*, VII, Foreword, viiif. For *śakunaruta* see *Bṛh. Sam.*, ch 87.

⁴Maria Leach, op cit., 1, 59

⁵Durga Bhagawat, *An Outline of Folktales*, 30

parrot, also the mythical mother of parrots, fabied as daughter or wife of the sage Kāśyapa.¹

In folk-tales a parrot has been referred to as having the knowledge of the four Vedas.² A royal parrot is said to have known the alphabets, dancing and archery; it could recognise the marks of elephant, ox, cock, men and women.³ Vidagdhaśāṅgamaṇi was an enchanted parrot, endowed with the divine knowledge, who knew all sciences.⁴ The *Śukaśaptati* is a collection of 70 stories narrated by a parrot. Here the parrot is said to have guarded the chastity of a merchant's wife in his absence.⁵ These stories became so popular that many writers used them freely. The *Āvasyaka Cūṛṇi* records the story of a parrot, who entertained his mistress narrating 500 fascinating tales.⁶ Another parrot saves his master's son from the clutches of a prostitute.⁷ In the *Kathākośaprakaraṇa*, a parrot accompanied by its mate, is said to have honoured the Tirthankara with a cluster of mango blossoms.⁸ A parrot and its mate, speaking human language, intensely loved each other.⁹ Another parrot is said to have brought the fruits of immortality.¹⁰ Parrot is employed as a love messenger. A merchant's daughter sent a beautiful leather parrot to king Vikrama of Ujjeni. When the parrot was torn open, a necklace and a love-letter written in musk was found inside.¹¹ We hear of a Kashmir king who deputed his parrot to roam about in different countries. When he reached the country of Strirājya (women's

¹Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, p. 26⁴.

²*The Ocean*, II, 28. A parrot in Cairo recited the *Holy Quran*, *Arabian Nights*, I, Story 2, Note 4, 112.

³KVLM, 123, 24-25

⁴*Vetāla*, 3, 24.

⁵Also see *The Arabian Nights*, I, Story 2, 79f. "A bird reveals the truth and often identifies murderers, traitors, debauchers and other wrong-doers", Maria Leach, op cit., I, 142

⁶*Āva. Cū.*, 522-26.

⁷*Vinoda*, 58.

⁸I, 2-11.

⁹*Upadeśa*, 970-86 and Commentary.

¹⁰*ibid*, I, 382-454, Bloomfield, op. cit., 34, Tawney, *Kathākośa*, 166ff. For parrots in good and bad company, see *BKK*, 33 27-34, see *Uvāśamālā* (227) for girśuka and puspāsuka.

¹¹*Pātyakāhāsaṅgaha*, 18-21; for English rendering of the story, see *The Gift of Love*, 1.

kingdom), the queen gave him four riddles and a letter which indicated that the merchant's daughter was in love with the king.¹ King Vikrama learnt the magic art of penetrating into another's body so that he could control the body of the parrot.² The parrot Hīrāmaṇi (Hīrāmaṇi in Sanskrit; a golden-coloured legendary parrot) has been mentioned in the *Karakanducariu*, a work of Apabhraṃsa by Puṣpadanta, and the *Padmāvata* of Jāyasī in Avadhī dialect.

Overhearing Motif Birds are favourite conversers. Overhearing of birds and spirits is a good contrivance to save people from death, sickness or grave danger or to provide wealth and glory. Usually, overhearing the language of bird or animal gives the hero the required information for his successful outcome in the story.³ The contests of riddles and charades between the parrot and the *māina* birds have been recorded.⁴ In a competition between the two, the *māina* surpassed the parrot.⁵ A dialogue between the parrot couple is noted, overhearing which the sage Jamadagni felt guilty and decided to give up ascetic life and marry.⁶ A robber leader, after hearing the bird language came to know that a monk was carrying a costly blanket.⁷ Thurston has referred to the chirping of lizards. It foretells about the approach of a case of snake-bite, and whether a patient will be cured or not. An expert could also predict whether the robbery will be committed or not.⁸

A Bird Seizes Jewel A precious jewel was swallowed by a peacock for which a Jain monk was to be persecuted. In the meantime, the bird vomitted the jewel and the monk was saved.⁹ The

¹*Pañcākhyaṇavārtika*, 26

²Bloomfield, op cit., 74-78, also see his essay, 'on the entering another's body,' proceedings of the *AJP*, VI (1917), pp. 1-43, Tawney, *Kathākata*, 38-41.

³Maria Leach, op cit., I, 141

⁴*Parśva*, 3 209-227, Bloomfield, *The Life and Stories*, 78

⁵*VH*, 105, 4-26, *The Vasudeva*, 648ff

⁶*VH*, 236-10-27, *BKK*, 59.44ff, *TSP*, IV, 43f

⁷Śāntiācārya, *Uttarā*, 2, 105

⁸*Omens and Superstitions of Southern India*, 70. Also see Bloomfield, op. cit., 185, *Folk-tale of Mahakoshal*, pp. 66-7, Note 9.

⁹*Bhag Arā.*, 1132, *BKK*, 102 10, pp. 254f, Tawney, *Kathakośa*, 122; also noted by Maria Leach, op. cit., I, 142

story of the Stolen Necklace¹ is recorded in the *Pañcatantra*.

Other Birds And Animals: Besides the parrot, the understanding of language of other birds is also noted. It is said that Bodhisattva knew the language of fish.² A king understood the language of donkey and ram.³ People knew the language of crow, jackal, dog and lizard.⁴ Śīlavatī, an expert in interpreting the language of birds and animals, surprised her father-in-law by comprehending the notes of a she-jackal and a crow. At night, hearing the howling of a she-jackal she went out of her house and noticed a corpse floating in the river; she took out the precious ornaments from the corpse. Similarly, listening to the cry of a crow, she got wealth buried under the tree.⁵ Elwin has provided us information about tribal people, who could interpret the language of animals. Mahadeo had a faculty of understanding the speech of beasts. A cowherd, who interpreted the language of a cow, took out wealth from the earth.⁶ The stories of talking jackals, chattering owls and talking cobras have been narrated.⁷ In Santal stories an interpretation of the language of ants and those of vultures is mentioned.⁸

This shows close affinity of birds and animals with aborigines. In course of time, the species of animate or inanimate objects were associated with superstitious beliefs by the local tribal people. This was an outward symbol of an existing intimate unseen relation between men and animals. This was known as totem. "Totemism would unite the tribal people in a sympathetic relation with nature in a more concrete way than the caste system," observes Richard Lannoy.⁹ Paśupati, the Lord of animals, is the god of wild and tamed animals. As Nandi is associated with Śiva or Paśupati so is Garuḍa with Viṣṇu, Haṃsa (swan) with Sarasvatī, Mūṣaka

¹V. 1.

²*Jātaka* (36).

³*Jātaka* (386)

⁴*KVLM*, 184, 14

⁵*Kumār.*, 3, 6, also *Āva. Cū.*, 562 *BHBH*, I, 83 refers to *kākaruta*, and *Bṛh. Saṃ.* (90) refers to *vāyasaviruta*. In the *Kharaputta Jātaka* (386) knowledge of all sounds is mentioned by which one was able to interpret even the talks of ants. *Sarvabhūtaruta* is referred to in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda of Vinayavastu*, 32.

⁶*Folk-tales of Mahakoshal*, ch. XII, 291-99.

⁷Mary Frere, *Old Deccan Days*, pp. 36, 90, 104.

⁸*Folklore of Santāl Pargānās*, pp. 394, 408f.

⁹*Speaking Tree*, 188.

(mouse) with Gaṇeśa, Mayūra (peacock) with Kārtikeya, and so on. As Roy has pointed out, vānaras (monkeys) are spoken as 'amiable-looking' and 'good fellows' among Orāons. There are monkey-totems amongst the Orāons of Chota Nagpur; they abstain from killing or injuring or even domesticating a monkey.¹ A parrot has been considered a marriage totem among the Dravidian race.² Thus we see that the ancient beliefs, customs and traditions of ancient tribal society, were preserved in the form of animal tales, and motifs were assigned to them as symbols of good and bad omens.

MOTIFS PERTAINING TO JOURNEY

Journey To Land: Various motifs have been assigned to journey undertaken by traders and merchants. Two young merchants entered into a pledge that if they were unable to earn enough money within twelve years, one would remain in the service of the other.³ Another merchant left his parents declaring that if he did not earn seven crores within a year, he would immolate himself into the fire.⁴ During the journey, encountering with the Bhillas, the Śābaras, the Pulindas, the Kīrātas and other tribes is a stock motif of Hindu fiction. When Cārudatta, accompanied by trading merchants, entered a forest, he was attacked by a band of robbers, blowing horns and sounding drums. They set fire to their carriages and plundered their merchandise.⁵ There were inaccessible robber villages situated in the dense forests. There was a large robber village, known as Simhaguḥā, situated in the Vindhya forest. It was a dwelling place of powerful thieves, who harassed the travellers passing through the jungle.⁶ We are told of the merchants who, knowing the presence of the Bhilla tribe in the Sahya forest, got ready to strike them with their bows and arrows. They rearranged their merchandise in such a way so that only the less valuable goods were visible to the invaders. As expected, soon the

¹*The Ordon of Chota Nagpur*, Introduction, 22. For totems pertaining to Beast, Bird, Fish, Reptile, Vegetable, Mineral and Place see, pp. 324-27.

²William Crooke, *The Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, II, 252.

³VH, 116, 19-24.

⁴KVLM, 103, 14-104, 4.

⁵VH, 145, 17-20, *The Vāsudeva*, 277.

⁶*Taraṅgalotā*, 1433ff.

harsh noise of blowing horns was heard and the whole atmosphere became tense with striking notes. The tribal people started attacking with their spears.¹ There was also fear from wild elephants, poisoned-eyed serpents, fierce tigers and boisterous buffaloes.²

Sea-Voyage: There are stereotyped descriptions of journey by sea. The merchants filled their vessels with saleable commodities and invited their relatives and friends and entertained them. The sea-faring merchants offered *balli* to the gods, put the five finger marks of sandalwood paste on the vessel, burnt incense, worshipped the sea-winds, noticed favourable omens, and amidst the beating of drums and laudation of panegyrists, set forth on a voyage.³ There are elaborate descriptions of ship-wreck. A ship is said to have rambled in the sea for six months.⁴ There were serious disturbances from sea-deities, when storms and cyclones endangered the life of the sea-merchants. At the blow of the terrible cyclone and the thundering of clouds, the vessel tossed in the sea, the crew were puzzled and the passengers on the board sat close to each other propitiating the deities such as Indra, Skanda, Rudra, Śiva, Vaiśramaṇa, Nāga, Bhūta, Yakṣa, and so on.⁵ They uttered prayers to Nārāyaṇa, promised an offering of an animal to goddess Caṇḍikā, a holy pilgrimage to Śiva, feeding the Brahmans, prayers to Sūrya and his son Vināyaka, Buddha and others.⁶ While returning from Yavanadvīpa, the merchant Sāgaradatta met with a terrible shipwreck. Luckily, he got hold of an empty oil barrel. He remained for five days and nights in the sea water and somehow managed to reach the shore of an island.⁷ When Cārudatta's ship was foundered, he got a wooden plank and reached the shore, being tossed in sea water for seven nights.⁸ The merchant Śrīpāla is said to have crossed the sea seated

¹KVLM, 135, 9-31.

²VH, 42, 25-26; 55f; 147, 22-26; 44, 21-45, 12.

³Nāyā, 8, 97ff, VH, 146, 5-7. *The Vāsudevā*, 280f, also see KVLM, 67, 1-3; 105, 28ff.

⁴Uttarā. Vr., 18, 252a

⁵Nāyā, 17, 201. At the time of calamities, jewels were offered to the sea. At the coast of Kathiawar, people burnt fire and offered milk, butter and sugar to the sea; *The Ocean*, VII, 145.

⁶KVLM, 68, 17-19.

⁷ibid, 106, 13-17.

⁸VH, 146, 12-14; *The Vāsudevā*, 282.

on the back of a crocodile.¹

In order to acquire precious jewels the merchants travelled to the island of Ratnadvipa. There were water animals in the sea and the dreadful Rākṣasa created violent storm. It is said that Lobhadeva and others made a journey to this island and returned with their ship full of various kinds of jewels.² In the Cārudatta's story we have a graphic description of reaching the island by passing through the most formidable tracks. First, the merchants had to cross the mountainous track by holding fast the spikes carefully driven into the hillside. The violent river on the way could be crossed by holding the cane thickets, which by the force of wind, bent and carried the travellers on the other side of the bank. Then, in order to pass through the dreadful circuitous narrow track, one had to go riding on the goats. This track was too narrow for a train of goats to pass or turn, and was so frightening that it could be passed only with the bandaged eyes. Here is introduced the motif of *bhārunda* birds.³ These huge birds dashed from the sky. In the meantime the passengers killed their goats and slipped into the bag, made out of their skin, to be carried by the birds to their destination.⁴ In the *Arabian Nights* the bird Rukh carried Es-Sindabad through the sky and placed him on a lofty mountain set with precious stones.⁵

RIDDLES

Riddles rank with myths, fables, folk-tales and proverbs in one of

¹*Sirivālakha*, 637, 'Shipwreck' is said to be the most prized devices which links itself with the motif of 'Treasure-Island', Bloomfield, op. cit., 49, note 13.

²*KVLM*, 66, 4-67, 15.

³Travelling in the tail-feather of a gigantic bird of the nature of a vulture brings a man to the golden city in the *KSS* (26 34). The draught from the wings of *bhārunda* birds set afloat a foundered ship, *Sātru. Mahātmya* (10, 88), after Bloomfield, op. cit., 31, note 15.

⁴*VH*, 148, 8-149, 28, *The Vasudeva*, 284-295, *KVLM*, 70, 1-10, *Samard*, 2, 126. Also see Penzer, Introduction, *The Ocean*, 'The Garuḍa Bird', 103f, 'Carrying off by the Garuḍa Bird', 141. People visited the island of Lankā in order to acquire jewels, *VH*, 111, 28-29. For valley of diamonds in Sarandeeb (Ceylon) see *Arabian Nights*, III, Story 20, 7th Voyage, Note 26.

⁵I, Story 3, 169-73, after *The Vasudeva*, 293n. For seven voyages of Es-Sindabad see *Arabian Nights*, III, Story 20, pp. 5-75.

the earliest and most widespread types of formulated thought.¹ "Riddles are part of a culture of a people and therefore are surrounded with taboos. Riddles are educational because of their varied content, but their primary aim is recreational. They refer to nature as a whole, and the material and spiritual culture of the people," writes Alan Dundes.²

Prakrit Jain tales are rich with various types of riddles. They include the tales of tricksters, hypocrites, rogues, swindlers, who by their wit, fool the common people, Mūladeva, a crest-jewel of rogues, taught hypocrisy and knavery to his pupils. Various stories of Mūladeva have been recorded.³ A dialogue is noted between the two ascetics. One asked the other "Can you tell me how many crows are living on the bank of the river?" "Sixty thousand" came the reply. "How do you know the exact number?" The ascetic replied, "Brother, if they are less, they must have flown to other places, and if more, some must have joined them."⁴ There are many such tales and anecdotes incorporated in Jain texts.⁵ Vasudeva and Amsumanta were travelling together. When they were tired, Amsumanta asked Vasudeva, "Whether I shall carry you, or will you carry me?" Vasudeva replied, "O prince, come, get on my back, I shall carry you." The meaning of the riddle is: The one who tells interesting stories to the person tired by walking, really carries him."⁶ The same riddle is noted in the Santal stories. While travelling, Kora asked his companion, "Let us carry each other by turns, so that neither of us will get tired and we shall be able to pass through the journey happily." Then explaining about what he said, he remarked, "Let us chat as we travel so that we do not feel tired."⁷

The *Bṛhatkathakośa* has a similar tale adding a few more riddles. Prince Śreṇika and a Brahman were travelling together: (i) Seeing

¹Maria Leach, op. cit., II, 938.

²*The Study of Folklore*, 184.

³PJKS, 57f.

⁴*Upadeśā*, 85, p. 61

⁵Interesting tales pertaining to four types of intellect (*buddhi*) are illustrated in the *Avā. Nīr.*, 932-945, *Avā Cū.*, 544-568, *Nandī* (26) Commentary by Malayagiri; *Upadeśā*, 107-120, pp. 72-91, *Dharmopadeśamālā-Vivaraṇa* pp. 120-40, *Mahāsummagga Jātaka*; PJKS, 55-92.

⁶VH, 208, 23-28; *The Vasudeva*, 367f.

⁷*Folklore of Santal Parganas*, 269f.

a farm on their way, the prince asked his fellow traveller: "O Brahman, has the farmer eaten his farm, or he is eating, or going to eat it?" (ii) Why does a person when seated under a tree, open his umbrella over his head, whereas in summer, he keeps it on his shoulders and walks? (iii) Why does a person wear his shoes while entering into the water, and carries them in his hand while walking on the land? The following is the solution: (i) If a person has his own food and eats of another, it is as good as eating away his farm. If he comes home and eats his own food happily, it amounts to say that he is enjoying his farm. And if after coming home, he eats his old food, it means he will be able to use his farm in future. (ii) If a person is seated under a tree holding his umbrella above his head, it shows he wants to protect himself from excrement of birds falling from above. (iii) If he wears his shoes while entering into the water, it means he wants to protect his feet from thorns and stones under water.¹ This riddle has been recorded under the title 'Apparently Absurd Behaviour'. A son-in-law carries his shoes in his hand, except when he comes to a river, when he wears them. He also carries his umbrella under his arm, but opens it while coming to a shady tree.²

How to Break a Hidebound Contract—also known as *Impossibility Motif* The motif is found all over the world. Rohaka, the son of an acrobat, was known for his wisdom. (i) Once the king ordered the village people to construct a pavilion out of a rock lying in the outskirts of the village. Rohaka suggested to dig up around the four sides of the rock, support it by four pillars and then dig up underneath the rock. (ii) The king sent a ram to the village people asking them to return it to him within a fortnight on condition that it must neither increase nor decrease in weight. Rohaka tied a wolf by the side of the ram and fed it on grass. By eating grass the ram did not decrease in weight, and from the fear of the wolf the weight would not increase (iii) A cock was sent to be trained as a fighter without its companion cock. Rohaka placed a mirror before the cock, who, seeing its reflection in the mirror, took it to be a rival cock, and fought with it. (iv) Village people were asked to make a

¹55-43-66. Compare the story of Śilavati in the *Kumāra*, III. For other riddles see *Āva Cū*, II, 57-60.

²*Folk-tales of Mahākoshal*, Note 1, 228, *Folklores of Santal Parganas*, ch. cxxviii, 349.

rope out of sand and send it to the king. Rohaka suggested to ask the king to let them have a similar rope so that they could copy it. (v) An old dying elephant was carried to the village with the instructions that day-to-day report should be conveyed to the royal house, without mentioning that the elephant was dead. It so happened that the elephant died the same night. At the suggestion of Rohaka, the people from the village reported: "Your Majesty, the animal was lying still without eating food." "Is the animal dead?" asked the king. They replied, "They cannot say that!" (vi) One day the king asked the village people to send the village-well to the city. They requested the king to send the city-well first so that both could come together. (vii) Village people were asked to change the direction of the village garden from east to west. In order to carry out the royal order, they shifted their houses to the eastern side of the garden. (viii) The king ordered to prepare rice boiled in milk without fire. The rice was pounded mixed with milk and boiled on the heat of cow-dung, generated by sunrays.

Hearing about the sharpness of Rohaka's intellect, the king sent for him, but laying down the following conditions. He should come neither in the bright half nor in the dark half of the month; neither during day nor during night; neither in sun nor in shadow; neither through air nor on foot; neither in the cart nor on the horseback; neither straight way nor crooked way; neither taking a bath nor without it, but he must come. Rohaka got up early morning, bathed up to his neck, yoked a ram in-between the cart wheels, mounted on it, hold an umbrella of sieve, carried a clod of earth in his hand, and on the day of dark night of the month, set out to meet the king in the evening.¹

This motif is found in ancient Brahman texts. Indra agrees to slay Namuchi neither by day nor by night, neither with a staff or by a bow, neither with a flat hand nor with a fist, neither with anything wet or dry. Indra, nevertheless, chooses to kill him at dawn with the foam of waters.² In the Buddhist Jatakas, Mahosadha Pandit has been asked to send the rice boiled under the following conditions: without rice, without water, without pot, without oven, without fire,

¹*Āva Cū*, 545.

²See Bloomfield, On Recurring Psychic Motifs in Hindu Fiction under How to Evade Seemingly Impossible (Trick) Conditions, *JAOS*, 36, pp. 65f.

without firewood, which should not be delivered either by men or by woman. Mahosadha Pandit picks up some broken rice, some ice, an earthen bowl, chops up some wood-blocks, kindles fire by rubbing two pieces, makes use of leaves instead of firewood, and prepares boiled rice. He sends it through a eunuch and himself travels by a footpath.¹ Alexander Macbain has quoted a similar legend from Kennedy's version of Leubhar-na Feinna between a man and a woman. The woman proposed that he must be her husband. The man refused her saying that he will not go with her in the day nor in the night, afoot nor on horseback, without or within a house, in light or in darkness, in company or alone. Hearing this the woman left her bed without break of day and brought an ass to the house of the man. She repeated her proposal saying that since it was nor day nor night, nor light nor darkness, neither was she on horseback nor on foot, neither in company nor alone, neither within or without a house, he must now agree to be her husband and go along with her.² A similar motif is recorded in the Mahakoshal folk-tales. A Raja orders his Diwan to make cloth out of spider's web. There is a counter-proposal that the Raja should break wind and fill it into a pot. Then the Diwan is asked to fetch five *seers* of mosquito's bones. There comes a counter-proposal that they must be weighed in the scales of which the beam is the wind and the pans are heat. Finally, the Raja asks the Diwan to take the well out of his house to the market. A rope was tied to the palace-well so that it could be taken to the market first.³

*The Girl Who Died Because She Had three Wooers*⁴: Benfy has traced this riddle to world literature. At places there are four wooers instead of three.⁵ Both versions have been recorded in the *Vetālapañcavimsā-*

¹*Mahāummagga Jātaka* (546) The hero in *the Arabian Nights* is Ahīqār, Haikar, or Heykar, Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*. II, 136

²*London Academy*, Nov 5, 1892, No. 1070, p. 413, after Bloomfield, op cit., For Tibetan version Bloomfield has referred to Schiefner, *Melanges Asiatiques*, 1876, p. 686, Ralston, *Tibetan Tales*, p. 139. Compare the legend with the Bālavinaṣṭaka (Clever Deformed Child) story in *the Ocean* (I, 184ff). Bloomfield has observed that the story seems to be a mere extract from a cycle of such stories which were afloat prior to the composition of the *BK*, Foreword, p. xi

³Elwin, op cit., Note 2, under The Impossibility Motif, 228f.

⁴*supra*, p. 26.

⁵Bloomfield, *The Life and Stories*, 691-712, 129 and note.

tikā.¹ The legend is also preserved in the Ceylonese folk-tales.²

Contests: Tests and contests were commonly used. The hero must perform some adventurous tasks and come out successful in his endeavours. There were contests with regard to shooting, jumping, wrestling, racing, gambling, interpretation of certain words and so on. The winner is often a trickster. In a contest between Sulasā and Yājñavalkya, the former declared, "If she is defeated, she will carry the sandal of Yājñavalkya for six months."³ Contests between Śamba and Subhānu were held. It was declared that whosoever's bird would utter the loveliest note, would be the winner.⁴

A bet was laid between the two merchants that the one who would earn more wealth within a certain period, would be entitled to employ the other as his servant.⁵ There were contests in wrestling, and the combats between cocks, peacocks, rams, buffaloes, bulls, horses and elephants were arranged.⁶ A contest between a mountain and a cloud has been recorded; each one claiming to be more powerful than the other. In order to test its strength the cloud started pouring rain water heavily, but it could not do any harm to the mountain. On the other hand, due to rain it cleared off and stood shining more brightly.⁷ A similar contest is recorded between the wind and the sun in a folklore of Santals.⁸

Detective Story. In a detective story a culprit is caught by some clever means. We have already seen how the adultery on the part of a woman was detected by a parrot. Two mothers quarrelled for one and the same child, each one claiming it as her own. The judge ordered to split up the child into two, and thus the child was delivered to the real mother.⁹ Minister Abhayakumāra detected the thief of mangoes stolen from the royal garden.¹⁰

¹Stories, Nos. 5, 2 and 9 *Julg Mongolische* (253ff) mentions four wooers, Bloomfield, op. cit., add Notes, 194-195, also see Winternitz, *A History of Indian literature*, III, I, 405f.

²Parker, *Village Folk-tales of Ceylon*, I, 378

³VH, 151, 25-26.

⁴Read, VH, 105, 3-107, 11, *The Vasudeva*, 648, 652.

⁵ibid., 116, 19-24

⁶LAL, 240.

⁷Āva. Cū., 121.

⁸Folklores of Santals, 314.

⁹Āva Nir., 934; VH, 354, 12-29; *The Vasudeva*, 524f and n; Āva. Cū., 349

¹⁰Das. Cū., 45.

Selfish Sparrow and Houseless Monkey: During the rainy season a sparrow was resting happily in her nest. At this time she saw a monkey shivering with cold and wandering about homeless. She rebuked him calling him good-for-nothing and useless. Hearing the remarks of the sparrow the monkey got furious and destroyed her nest.¹ There is a similar story in the *Pañcatantra*.² The story is also recorded by Mary Frere in her *Olden Deccan Days* ³

Lion And Hare: A lion, fond of eating flesh, killed a large number of animals of the jungle. The animals held a conference and approached the lion with a proposal to send him one animal every day. The lion agreed. Once it was the turn of a hare. The hare tactfully led the lion to a deep well and made him jump into it.⁴ The same story is told in the *Hitopadeśa*.⁵ A different version of African Negro folk-tale has been noted by Maria Leach which is based on the holding up the rock motif. A lion provoked by hare chases him. The hare stands under a leaning rock and pretends to hold it up. The hare cries and requests the lion to hold up the rock, otherwise all would perish. The lion came to the rescue of the hare and continued holding up the stone till he was tired ⁶

Recognition of Foot-Prints The Devas move above the ground, therefore they do not leave any foot-prints. The feet of the Rākṣasas leave deeper foot-prints. A man is powerful, walks upright and his chest is heavy, therefore the forepart of his feet is pressed downwards. In contrast a woman's feet are slightly raised in the heel due to the heaviness of her hips. Foot-prints indicated whether a person carried a load of mountain, tree or a woman.⁷ Whether the foot-prints belong to a male elephant or its mate, or to a man or a woman could be known from the depth of their impressions. The foot-prints of a

¹Brh Bhā Vr., 1 909f

²1 15

³p 139

⁴Vya Bhā Vr., 3, p 7a, also see *The Ocean*, V, 49f Śuka (31), *Nigrodha Jātaka* (445). Also found in the tribes of Malaya, see W Skeat, *Fables and Folk-tales*, Cambridge, 1901, Story 12, p 28, after Kavthekar, *Sanskrit Sahitya men Nītikathā*, 339

⁵2 6.

⁶op cit, II, 626; also W. Norman Brown's article, *The Relation of Modern Indian Folk-tales to literature*, *JAOS*, 39, p. 24f

⁷VH, 135, 10-136, 10, *The Vasudeva*, 234-239.

pregnant woman indicated whether a son or a daughter would be born.¹

Parable of the Pitcher That Fell from Old Woman's Head: A woman was carrying a water pitcher on her head. Her son had gone to a far-off country and she was expecting him to return. As the woman was coming along she met two young students; she asked them if her son would come back home. At this time the water pitcher fell down from her head and broke. Seeing this one of the pupils foretold that her son was not living any more. The other one announced that he had already arrived at home. When the old woman returned home she felt very happy to see her son there.²

Bitter Bit: Often the harm that one wishes to do to another, recoils on one's self. There is a story of two women. The first one propitiated the deity and became rich. Seeing this the second woman was jealous of her. She too propitiated the deity. The deity appeared and granted her boon promising that she would have the double of what the first woman would have. In order to teach the jealous woman a lesson, the first woman asked for a boon to make her blind in one eye. Soon the second woman lost her both eyes.³ A similar story is narrated in the *Parīśiṣṭaparvan*.⁴

Language of Signs: Secret messages and symbols were used in ancient society. Sudarśana once sent a go-between to the house of a merchant's wife to find out whether she loved him. The merchant's wife welcomed the messenger. Then smearing her hand in black ink she slapped the messenger and drove her out from the house. The go-between reported to her master. Noticing the black marks of five fingers on her back, Sudarśana understood that he had been called on the fifth moonless night.⁵ But still he could not gauge any sign for their meeting place. He sent his messenger again to her house. The merchant's wife this time showed impatient anger towards the messenger, took her to a nearby aśoka grove and rudely told her not to come again.⁶ This obviously indicated the meeting place.

¹ *Āva Cū.*, 553, Guṇabhadra, *Uttara P* (67 282-304); also see *Tales of Chinese Tripitaka*, after *The Vasudeva*, 237n.

² *Āva Cū.*, 553, also Bloomfield, *The Life and Stories*, 8 329-342, p. 180.

³ *Das. Cū.*, 98

⁴ 3. 1.43, for additional notes, see Bloomfield, *op. cit.*, 183

⁵ Compare the impressions of Durgā's five fingers stretched out on the back of the nun, *Parī*, 446-499.

⁶ *Das Cū.*, 89-91, also *Parī*, 446-499, *The Gift of Love*, 8, 50ff. *KSS*, II, 237.

In the folk-tales of Mahakoshal there is a tale of a girl and the Rājā's son. The girl coughed and showed a brass pot to the Rājā's son. Then she showed him a flower and then her hand. The meaning of her coughing is: "I live in the city of Kāñchanapur"; the pot indicates: "I am daughter of Rājā Kāmśa"; the flower indicates: "My name is Phūladeī"; the showing of hand means: "I am unmarried yet."¹ In this connection, Elwin has quoted some interesting accounts from Crook's article 'Secret Messages and Symbols used in India,' published in the *JBORS* (V, 451-452).² A maiden took a flower from her garland and put it in her ear twisting it into the form of the *dantapur* ornament or tooth-leaf. She took another flower and put it on her head. Finally, she laid her hands significantly on her heart. The significance of these signs is: (i) I live in the realm of king Karṇotpala (ii) I am daughter of an ivory-carver, (iii) My name is Padmāvati, (iv) My heart is yours.³ Generally, these signs are not understood by the hero; only the narrator of the story explains the meaning through the third party. In another story, a lady turns her back, shows a mirror, and throws water, a bunch of flowers and a hair out of the window. Then she scratches the window with a dagger. The meaning is someone else is in the room; her lover could meet her by the water-drain in the garden, and he prepared to cut through iron railings. Then, a betel leaf with sweet spices accompanied by a flower means 'I love You.' If the leaf contains more spice and one corner turned in a peculiar way, it means 'I cannot come.' A small piece of charcoal inside the leaf means 'go, I do not want you.'⁴

Thus we notice a variety of richness and a wealth of material in the motifs interwoven in Prakrit Jain Narrative Literature. In these motifs there are certain objects which convey a definite meaning. In the words of Shipley, "Motif is the smallest recognisable element that goes to make up a complete story; its importance for comparative study is to show what material of a particular type is common to other types. This importance of type is to show the way in which narrative motifs form into conventional clusters." These

¹*Folk-tales of Mahakoshal*, under 'Romantic Tales,' 335.

²Also see KSS, vi 168; *The Folk-tales of Mahakoshal*, Note 1, pp 353-56.

³*Verāla*, 1

⁴*Folk-tales of Mahakoshal*, 354.

motifs come from generations of tale-tellers and are found in various cultures in all parts of the world; therefore their study is very important from the point of view of international relationship.

Primitive people dwelling in forests and on hills hold a rich treasure of human culture, and therefore, they should not be despised. Modern society has inherited a large number of practices from aborigines and consequently we owe a good deal to them. If this study is extended to a larger body of readers, it will certainly help them to widen their outlook.

CHAPTER 3

Magical Practices and Supernatural Powers

Magic practices go back to the primitive days when a human being was leading a difficult life for want of food and shelter. He had to roam about in pursuit of his hunt to sustain himself. He had to live in dense forests or on outskirts of hills and mountains and encounter hosts of natural calamities. In order to ward off the forces of evil, he frequently engaged himself performing magical dances. He guarded his fields against the ghosts hostile to fertility by hanging a gourd, a broom and a leaf-cup together and suspending a jackal's head or a black pot with white lines.¹ A priest was called to cure the sick, to recover his lost property and to detect the culprit. Thus in order to encounter calamities, disease, pestilence and hostile enemy and to gain life and fortune, he depended on magic or witchcraft. In fact, the practice of magic did not actually affect control over natural forces, it only created an illusion of controlling it, which produced psychological efficacy initiating the magician to work vigorously.

AFFINITY WITH BIRDS AND ANIMALS

There had been a close affinity between aborigines and birds, animals, plants and insects. The aboriginal people possessed a good knowledge of habits and behaviour of birds and animals. Many of the tribes are named after trees, vegetables, animals, birds and fish.² Totemism is the basis of social organisation among aborigines. There are numerous beliefs of tribes and nations descending from

¹Elwin, *The Muria and their Ghotul*, 42-27.

²For animal names in Vedic literature, see Chattopadhyaya, *Lokdyata*, 82ff. Among aboriginals of America the clan derived its name from some animal or inanimate object, and never from a person; L.H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, 86; *Lokdyata*, 87.

particular animals. The tiger and bear, for example, appear frequently in the folk-tales and songs of the Muria. Among other totems are animals as bullocks, goats, cobras, wild buffaloes, horses, tortoises, tigers, and fish; a jungle dog is considered sacred.¹ Like the Muria, the Orāons have their totems based on animals, birds, trees and vegetables.² They have monkey totem amongst them, and consequently, are supposed to abstain from killing or injuring or even domesticating a monkey, which is spoken as 'amiable-looking' and 'good-fellow.'³ Among the negroes many families will not touch certain animals because their ancestors were deeply indebted to them.⁴ In Hindu mythology, numerous Vedic *gotras* such as bull (*gotama*), calf (*vatsa*), dog (*śunaka*), owl (*kaśika*), frog (*māṇḍūkya*), tortoise (*kāśyapa*) and others are connected with birds and animals. The Nandi is associated with Śiva, also known as Paśupati, the Garuḍa with Viṣṇu, the Hamsa with Sarasvatī, the Mūśaka with Gaṇeśa and the Mayūra with Kārtikeya. Then along with the Nandi Bull and the great bird Garuḍa, the Airāvata Elephant, prototype of the elephant race, and the long-eared Uccaiśravas horse, prototype and king of horses, are considered auspicious animals and worshipped in Hindu mythology. These four auspicious animals (Lion in place of Garuḍa) are depicted on the round drum of the Śaranātha Lion Capital of Aśoka. They are also worshipped as deities in the Indus Valley.⁵ These animals, birds, trees and plants are connected with good or bad omens which formed a part of social life of Indian people. A jackal, a blue jay (*cāṣa*), a peacock, a skylark (*bhāradvāja*) and a mangoose, for example, are considered auspicious, and if seen in southern direction, bring all wealth.⁶ Then the plants without leaves, the thorny bushes, the trees crumbled with lightning and those possessed of bitter juice are taken as bad omens.⁷ The very foundation of the house was laid down by employing magical formulae. In one such formula, its relationship with *khirini*, *udumbara*

¹Elwin, op. cit., 61, 74.

²Roy, *The Orāons of Chota Nagpur*, 324-27.

³ibid, Introduction, 22

⁴Macculloch, *The Childhood of Fiction*, 249f.

⁵V S Agarwala, *Ancient Indian Folk Cults*, 18f.

⁶*Ogha Nir. Bhā*, 108ff.

⁷*Vyavahāra Bhāṣya*, I, 2 125-30, pp. 40ff.

and *vīraṇa* trees is emphasised.¹ Magic spells are mentioned under the names of birds and animals. They are; the peahen spell (*mayāri*), the scorpion spell (*vr̥ścika*); the female mongoose spell (*nakulī*); the serpent spell (*sarpa*), the cat spell (*bidālī*), the mouse spell (*mūsaka*); the tigress spell (*vyāghrī*), the female deer spell (*mṛgī*); the lioness spell (*simhī*), the female boar spell (*varāhī*); the female owl spell (*ulūki*), the female crow spell (*kākī*), the female hawk spell (*ulāvakī*) and the bird spell (*śakunikā*). It is said that the Jain monks, accomplished in these spells, used the counter-spells to counteract the effect of a certain charm and employed their consecrated broom to win over their rival in religious discussion.² We have already dealt with the motif of conversation of birds and animals, and it is significant that *śakunarūta* or the knowledge of the notes of birds, is included among seventy two arts. Thus we see that the ancient beliefs, customs and traditions of primitive tribal people were preserved in the form of animal tales and in different motives assigned to birds, animals, trees and plants, which formed the symbols of omens.

TRIBAL RELATIONSHIP

There are widespread remnants of tribal relationship with the ancient Indian people, including Jains and Buddhists. The home of Jainism and Buddhism lies in what is now South Bihar, West of Bengal and south of the Ganges. This was the country of the Magadhas; to the east of these were the Angas, to the north the Vajjis and Mallas. To the west of the Magadhas there were Kāśīs, Kośālas, Śākya and Koliyas. Mahavira was born among Vajjis and Buddha among Śākya, Vajjis and Śākya both had republican government. There was a strong unity in the members of these clans and their administrative and judicial business was carried out in public assembly at which young and old were both present and discussed various matters. There is no wonder if induced by the working of the administrative and judicial system, both the leaders introduced the idea of fraternity of monks (*sangha*) in their religious organisation. From earlier times, the region of Magadha has been surrounded by Santa-

¹ *Angavijjā*, 8, 8f.

² *Uttarā Vr̥.*, 3, 72, *Nisī Bhā*, 5602-5604; 4459; *Āva Ntr.*, 137; *LAI*, 230-34.

las, Munḍas and other tribal people. Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Tirthankara of Jains, though born in Kāśī, made the area around the mountain Sammeda (Parasnath Hill in the Hazaribagh district in Bihar) a centre of his activities. It was at this mountain that he attained salvation. This hilly area is surrounded by Santal Pargana, Birbhum and Bankura districts in the east, Purulia and Dhalbhum in the south and Lohardagā in the west. The worship of the mountain deity Marang Buru is common in this area. The people assemble to meet the deity to hold council with him. It is said that the Santal women learnt witchcraft from the deity by playing trick on him.¹ In this area even now there are some remnants of Jainism in sight. In the Manbhum district we come across a community called *sarāk* (or *śrāvaka*, a hearer, a follower of Jain religion). The *sarāks* call themselves the followers Pārśvanātha; they do not use the word 'cut' in their conversation and are proud that very few crimes exist in their community. Weaving is their main profession. According to the *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa*, they are born out of the union of a *jolāhā* man and *kuvinda* (weaver) women.²

The worship of Manasā, the serpent deity, is popular among the tribes of Birbhum and Bankura districts; its *pūjā* is performed during the four months of rainy season. i.e., *āṣāḍha* (June and July) *śrāvana* (July-August), *bhādrapada* (August-September) and *āśvina* (September-October) ³ It is noteworthy that Pārśvanātha is associated with Dharaṇendra, the lord of serpents, protecting the Tirthankara by its large hood. The four months of rainy season (*cāturmāsa*) have a special significance for Jains. During these months Jain monks stay at one place and do not roam about from place to place as usual. During this period Jains celebrate eight or ten days religious feast. Then, the region of Lohaggala (Lohardagā in the Central and north-western portion of Chota Nagpur Division in West Bengal) was visited by Mahavira during his ascetic career. The word Lohardagā is of Munda origin, meaning the place where the water-spring had dried up.⁴ We are told that during his ascetic career, Mahavira travelled through the country of Lāḍha (Rāḍha in West Bengal,

¹ *Folklore of Santal Parganas*, 421ff

² *Bengal District Gazetteer Manbhum*, 49, 51, 83ff

³ *Bengal District Gazetteer Birbhum*, 33; *Bengal District Gazetteer Bankura*, 51.

⁴ In Munda 'da' is water, and 'rohor' is dried up; Roy, *The Mundas and their Country*, 73n

comprising the districts of Hoogly, Howrah, Bankura, Burdwan and eastern portion of Midnapore), a non-Aryan country, inhabited by tribal people (*vajjalāḍhā* has been explained as *mlecchas*).¹ This country was divided into Vajjabhūmi (Vajrabhūmi or Birbhūm)² and Subbbabhūmi (Subbbrabhūmi, or the country of Suhmas or Singhabhūm). There was no regular route in this wild region and Mahavira suffered extreme hardships at the hands of the natives. On account of eating coarse food, the inhabitants of the land were furious by nature and set their dogs upon ascetics, who dared to enter the region. They hit them with stick, fist or lance, cut their flesh, tore their hair and threw dust on their body. In absence of clothes they covered their body with grass. There were few villages in this region therefore the ascetics passing through here had to travel a long distance before reaching a village.³ The other places visited by Mahavira in this region included Punnakalasa (not identified), Lohaggala, Gobhūmi (Gomoh), Daḍhabhūmi (Dhalbhum), Tosali (Dhauḷi in Cuttak district in Orissa) where he had to undergo hardships.⁴ Among other non-Aryan tribes mention has been made of *virūpas*, *dasyus*, *andryas* and *pratyantikas* (residing at the border). They were ugly-looking, wearing quaint dresses, following different customs and speaking different dialects. They were cruel by disposition and indulged in violent activities. Their language was indistinct and could not be understood, nor could they understand the language of Aryans. Many of them resided at the border of the Aryan countries.⁵ Looking to the extremely hard life in the region, inhabited by tribal people, Jain monks were ordained not to visit these places.⁶

Different traditions and customs of tribal people have been preserved in the form of stories, anecdotes, parables, illustrations and riddles in ancient Jain literature which needs a comprehensive study so that the socio-economic history of India can be understood in its right perspective.

¹*Āva. Cū.*, 296

²'Bir' in Santhali means jungle.

³*Ācā*, 9, 1-4, Jacobi, *Jain Sūtras*, XXII, 1, 8.3, 84f

⁴*Āva. Cū.*, 290, 294, 301, 312

⁵*Nisī. Sū.*, 16, 26, *Bhā.*, 16, 5727-28,

⁶*Ācā*, II, 38

STOCK LIST OF TRIBAL PEOPLE

We meet with a list of tribal people in ancient Jain texts. The list includes the Bhillas, the Kirātas (Cilāyas), the Bārbaras, the Draviḍas, the Simphalas, the Pulindas, the Śabarās, the Tanḱaṇas, the Pakkaṇas, the Khasas, the Mātāṅgas, the Bodhikas and so on.¹ They resided in dense forests infested with wild animals or on the outskirts of hills and mountains. Here we give a short account of some of the important tribes.

Bhillas They resided in forests or on top of hills. Their retreats were known as *bhillapalli* or *bhillakoṭṭa*.² They often attacked the caravans passing through forests.³ The story of a bhilla, an earnest devotee of Śiva, has been told.⁴ It is a pre-Aryan wild race dwelling in the Vindhya hills and forests of Malwa, Khandesh and Deccan.

Bohiyas or Bodhikas They were *mlecchas* residing in the hilly areas surrounding the Malwa region. They committed atrocities in Malwa and kidnapped people from Ujjeni.⁵ They were professional robbers, they were cruel by nature. It is stated that they murdered an *ācārya* of the *sangha*, kidnapped nuns and destroyed articles belonging to the shrines and temples.⁶

Kirātas (Cilāya): They resided in the northern region of India. They are characterised as powerful, arrogant and proficient in the art of fighting. It is stated that when sovereign king Bharata started for the world conquest, he encountered them and gave them a tough fight.⁷ It appears that in course of time their material position was improved. We hear of a *mleccha* king, called Kirāta, who ruled over Koṭivarṣa, the capital of Lāḍha. It is said that he was delighted to see the valuable clothes and precious jewels which he had never seen before. We are told that later he became a follower of Mahavira.⁸ We hear of Cilātaputra (son of Kirāta), a Jain monk,

¹See *LAI*, 358-66.

²*Bṛh. Bhā.*, 3, 4035.

³*KVLM*, 62, 5ff., 135, 27-31. For Bhillas see Bloomfield's article, On Organised Brigandage in Hindu Fiction, *AJP*, XLVII, 3, No. 187, 1926, pp. 205-233.

⁴*Bṛh. Bhā. Pt.*, p. 253.

⁵*Nisī Bhā*, 2, 1335, 16 5725.

⁶*Nisī Cā. Pt.*, p. 289.

⁷*Jambu*, 3 56; also see *KVLM*, 112, 21-24.

⁸*Āva. Nīr.*, 1305; *Āva. Cā.*, II, 203.

who suffered extreme pains during his ascetic life.¹ It indicates that Jainism succeeded in attracting the people of this tribe to its fold.

Mātangas: They belonged to a wild tribe. *Mātangas* were also known as *Pāṇas*.² As the *Dombas* had their own yakṣa known as *Ghaṇṭika yakṣa*, so the *Mātangas* had *Āḍambara* or *Hirimikka* or *Hirīḍikka yakṣa*. The shrine of *Āḍambara yakṣa* is said to have been built on the bones of newly dead human beings.³ The *Mātangas* belonged to a *vidyādhara* clan which indicates their skill in magic lores.⁴ We learn that *Heppaga* (*Ipphaka* in the *BKSS* and *Ityaka* in the *KSS*) belonged to a low class of *Mātangas*, who was cruel by nature.⁵ It is stated that a certain *Mātanga* was in possession of a spell which could not be transferred to King *Śreṇika* unless the king agreed to exchange his higher seat with him.⁶ It is said that a certain king was able to acquire magical lore from two *Dombas* only after showing due reverence to them.⁷ We learn that sometimes the *vidyādhara*s had to be closely associated with low class people. In order to attain magical power, two *vidyādhara*s are said to have resolved to marry a girl of low extraction. Each one of them got a deformed girl with whom they lived in chastity for a year.⁸ *Mātanga* is also mentioned as a presiding deity (*śāsanayakṣa*) of the seventh and the twenty-fourth Tīrthaṅkara.⁹ We come across a great sage known as *Mātanga*. While he sojourned in the *Tinduga* garden in *Vārāṇasī*, he was given protection by the local *Gaṇḍitinduga yakṣa*.¹⁰

It appears from what has been stated that the *Mātangas* like *Śvapākas*, *Kirātas* and various other tribal people, originally did not belong to the category of people of low rank leading a degraded life. It is said that because of neglecting the religious rites, the *Kirātas* were transformed to the category of *Śūdras*.¹¹ The same

¹ *Āva. Cū*, 497

² *Nisī Cū*, 4, 238

³ *Nisī Bhā*, 19 6112, *Vya Bhā*, 7 313, p 55a; *Āva Cū*, II, 227

⁴ *The Vasudeva*, 311n, *BKSS*, XIV, 30, XX 106

⁵ *The Vasudeva*, 54

⁶ *Das. Cū.*, 45.

⁷ *BKK*, 19 64-69.

⁸ *Pari*, 2 645-55

⁹ *Balchandra Jain, Pratimāvivṛdha*, pp 72, 82; Plates 12 and 20, Figs 7 and 24

¹⁰ *Uttarā. Vr.*, 12, 173a ff.

¹¹ *MW*, p 1085

thing can be said about many other tribes. They were an important tribe exercising a good influence. Owing to their power and prestige they were not only the masters of magic lore but their position was enhanced by appointing them as a presiding deity of certain Tirthaṅkaras.

Pulindas: They resided in forests or on mountains and lived on meat of dead cow.¹ Their dwellings are known as *pulindapalli* or *pulindkoṭṭa*.² They are often depicted as attacking the caravans passing through the forests.³ They are called people without any sense of shame.⁴ They supplied tusks in exchange of clothes, gems, red dye and bangles.⁵ The Pulindas have been mentioned along with Kāpālikas, Mātangas, Rākṣasas and Vānaras, who in order to accomplish magic spells, wore tribal dresses.⁶ A Pulinda prince has been mentioned.⁷ In the KSS the kingdom of the Pulindas was situated amidst the Vindhya on the route passing from Kauśāmbī to Ujjeni.⁸

Śabaras They have been mentioned along with Pulindas and Coras residing in dense forests.⁹ We read that the caravan bound for southern region, passing through the Vindhya mountains, was attacked by Śabaras.¹⁰

Ṭankanas or Tanganas: They inhabited on hill-tops and were formidable.¹¹ They dwelt in Uttarāpatha and travelled to Dakṣiṇāpatha for trade, carrying gold, ivory and other commodities with them for sale. Since they were unable to understand the language of the merchants from southern region, the transaction was made by indication of hands. The mode of exchange of saleable commodities was interesting. The traders after reaching the region of the Ṭanka-

¹Nisī Bhā , 15.4853

²ibid, 15.4853 and Cū

³Ava. Cū., II, 154

⁴Nisī Bhā , 16.5319

⁵Ava Cū , II, 296

⁶KVLM, 132, 1-3.

⁷ibid, 50, 32

⁸Sylvan Lévi, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian*, 88-91.

⁹Nisī. Bhā., 10 2962 and Cū

¹⁰See Samard, 6, 511ff , 7, 656

¹¹See VH, 148, 25-29; *The Vasudeva*, 286n, 288, 288n, *Āva Nir* , 136, *Āva. Cū* , 120. In the BKSS (XVIII 453ff.) Kirātas are mentioned in place of Taṅkaṇas. cf. the Veḍha tribe of Ceylon.

nas, displayed their merchandise and then lighting fire by burning firewood, retired to a nearby place. Noticing the smoke from a fire, the Ṭaṅkaṇas appeared and picked up the required goods. The Ṭaṅkaṇas too displayed their goods and followed the same practice. The traders appeared and picked up fruits, saddled goats, tiger skin and other articles brought by the Ṭaṅkaṇas, in exchange of their own commodities such as saffron, dyed clothes, sugar candy, rice, vermilion, salt or oil.¹

A detailed study of the life of these tribes and traditions and customs prevalent amongst them will throw a flood of light on the growth of Prakrit Jain Narrative Literature.

SIGNIFICANCE OF MOUNTAINS IN JAIN NARRATIVES

Mountains have been assigned a holy place in Jain religion. A majority of the Jain Tīrthankaras have attained liberation on some mountain or the other.

It is interesting that the mountains have been referred to as places for accomplishing the magic lore in ancient Jain literature. The Himalaya mountain, the abode of Lord Śiva, is said to have been the dwelling place of *vidyādhara*s, or the masters of magic art. This mountain is divided into two mythological regions (*Veyaḍḍha*, *Vaitḍḍhya* or *Vedyardha*), the northern and the southern. The northern region is situated on the other side of the Kailas mountain and the southern on this side. According to Jain tradition, when Nami and Vinami approached Ṛṣabha, Dharaṇendra, the king of Nāgas, bestowed upon them the two *vidyādhara* territories (*vedyardha*), situated on both sides of the *Veyaḍḍha* mountain. They were also provided with magic arts so that they could reach their territories. Later as mark of honour, the *vidyādhara*s installed the idol of Ṛṣabha in their cities and assembly-halls.² There are other mountains known for accomplishing the magic lores. One such mountain was Sīmaṇaga which was situated at the confluence of five rivers. It had a shrine of Ṛṣabha and was famous for omniscience of Acala, one of the Baladevas. It is stated that Amitatejas, the *vidyādhara*-lord, arrived here in order to accomplish magic art.³ Hrimat was

¹VH, 148, 25-29, *Āva. Cū.*, 120, *The Vasudeva*, 288, cf. BKSS, XVIII, 451-54.

²See VH, 163, 25-164, 17, *The Vasudeva*, 29f.

³VH, 264, 25; 319, 6, 16; 250, 21. Sīmaṇ is also mentioned in the TSP, V.1. 240-393; III, 222.

another holy mountain where the image of Dharanendra was installed along with that of Samjayanta (Dharanendra's brother who was killed while practising penance). We are told that Amitatejas came here to achieve magic art and stood in meditation for seven days and nights observing one-month fast.¹ A festival was celebrated here in honour of the Jain shrine. An assembly of *vidyādhara*s, accompanied with their wives and children, stood here in front of the shrine chanting magic formulae.² Śrīparvata was still another holy mountain where Jain monks practised meditation. It has been compared with mountain Meru in beauty.³

ACCOMPLISHMENT OF MAGIC SPELLS

Ascetic practices play an important role in acquiring magic spells among aboriginals. Austerities had to be performed for magical purposes so that one could face the hardships of life without any show of pain. It included fasting, abstinence from specific food or drink, or self-mortification. It is stated that if one wished to become a sorcerer one had to sacrifice a black fowl to the deity and fast for two days. Thereupon the deity appeared in dream assuming the form of a chilli. Next day he assumed the form of a human being, took out the sorcerer's soul from his body and showed him the way to the forests and hills where the magic herbs grew. Here the deity taught him how to enchant people by magic.⁴

In order to acquire magic spell, or to move the deity to get desired object, one had to lead a pure and simple life by undergoing fast and penance. We are told that in order to satisfy the pregnancy-whim of queen Dhāriṇī, Abhayakumāra entered the fasting-hall, set aside his ornaments, flower garlands and perfumes and sat in meditation observing three-days fast. As a result the seat of the heavenly god was set in motion and he created artificial rains on the mountain as desired by the queen.⁵ A three-day fast under a *kṣīra* tree is enjoined to attain another *vidyā*. Then wearing new garment, seated

¹VH, 318, 16-17 Also mentioned in the *Jinasena's Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, 27.13; 26 46, TSP, 8 2 473 Śrīmat in the BKK, 78. 253.

²Majjhīmakhaṇḍa, 1. 59, *The Vasudeva*, 32.

³VH, 326, 19, 328, 8, also mentioned in the TSP, V. II, 252-289, III, 248.

⁴Elwin, *The Religion of an Indian Tribe*, 234f.

⁵Nāyā, 1, 16f.

on a *kusa* mat and observing a two-days fast is prescribed for the attainment of *bhūmikarma vidyā*, connected with laying foundation of a house.¹ Various practices have been enjoined in order to acquire magic spells. Rites had to be performed on the dark night of the fourteenth and eighth day of the month in a cemetery. The charms were acquired by holding a dead body of an uninjured person, endowed with auspicious marks.² We hear of a thief who went to a cemetery to execute the charm of flying in the air. He filled a basin with live coals and placed it under a tree. He then started to climb a hanger which he had fastened to the branch of a tree. The thief chanted the incantation 108 times and went on cutting the strands of the hanger one after another. As soon as the fourth strand was cut off, the thief acquired the desired spell. He was furnished with a car on which he ascended and flew to heaven.³ In the same manner, Satyakī is said to have gone to a cemetery to achieve the *Mahārohini* spell. First he set fire to the pyre of an orphan's dead body, then covered himself with a moist skin and moved about on his left toe till the pyre was kindled. In this way he acquired the desired spell after seven nights.⁴ Kāpālīka ascetics often visited cemeteries to execute magic spells. In order to accomplish the *Vetāla* spell,⁵ a Kāpālīka observed fast and visited a cemetery on the moonless fourteenth day of the month. He had taken flowers and incense with him for performing *pūjā*. Then holding the dead body in hand, he started acquiring the spell. Soon the spell appeared with a terrible sword and asked for his command.⁶

Besides the burial ground, the other places for executing magic spell were bamboo-groves, cross-ways, dense forests, mountains, and so on.⁷ We are told that in order to gain efficiency in a spell, a *vidyādhara* went to a bamboo-grove, where having fastened his

¹ *Āṅgavijjā*, 8, 8

² *Ācā*, Commentary I 6, 65a. A Kāpālīka goes to the Mahākāla cemetery of Ujjeni in search of three dead bodies, *BKK*, 102, 9-13.

³ *Nisī Cū Pt*, 24, p. 16. For a slightly verified version, see *BKK*, 4 21-41, also Bloomfield, *The Life and Stories*, I, 570-604, p. 37.

⁴ *Āva Cū*, II, 175

⁵ *Vaidālī* is mentioned in the *Sūya*, II, 2-13, 317a, *VH*, 317, 20, 319, 26; *Uttarā*, *V7*, 18, 242a

⁶ *BKK*, 64 32-46

⁷ *KVLM*, 132, 1-2, also *Surasundarī*, 12, 158

feet up on the bamboo tree and hanging himself upside down, started inhaling smoke.¹ *Vidyādhara* Aṅgāraka, having lost his magic spell, is seen inhaling smoke of *Mesual Farrea* (Kanakā: *dhatura* in Hindi).²

MAGIC LORES AND ABORIGINALS

Magic lore is divided into pure and impure. It is said that if a monk had gone to answer a call of nature and by chance no water was available for wash, or he suffered from intense pain or snake-bite, a fellow monk could rescue him by chanting the impure magical lore (*ucchiṣṭavidyā*) by rinsing his mouth with urine.³ In this connection, mention of spells known as the *Drāviḍī* (related to *Draviḍas*), the *Śvapākī* (or the *Mātangī*; related to *Śvapākas*⁴ or *Mātangas*)⁵ and the *Sovarī*, (*Śabarī*, related to *Śabaras*) is significant. The *Mātangī* and the *Śvapākī*⁶ are noted along with other magic lores such as the *Pārvaṭī* (related to mountain), the *Vamśalatā* (related to bamboo-creeper) and the *Vṛkṣamūlikā* (related to tree root) of the *vidyādhara* group.⁷ This shows that the magic spells were closely associated with mountains, trees and plants. At one place the *Mātangī* lore is mentioned along with the *Gaurī* and the *Gāndhārī* which are despised by the people as they are to be acquired with difficulty, but once acquired, they fulfilled all desires of a person.⁸ It is interesting that Thurston has noted an unmarried Māḍiga (Telugu Pariab) woman, called *Mātangī*, who was a favourable popular goddess. She spit upon people and touched them with

¹*Uttarā Vṛ*, 13, 189a

²*VH*, 179, 16-18, *The Vasudeva*, 321.

³*Bṛh. Bhā.*, 5. 5982-83

⁴*TSP*, 3 219; *BKSS*, III, 48 A *Śvapāka* is one who cooks dogs, a man or a woman of low and outcaste tribe (the son of a *Caṇḍāla* and a Brahman, or of a *Niṣṭya* and previously unmarried *Kirāṭī*, or of an *Ugra* woman by a *Kṣatriya*, or of a *Kṣatriya* by an *Ugra*, or by a Brahman by an *Ambaṣṭha*, often equal to *Caṇḍāla*, he acts as public executioner and carried out the body of those who die without kindred), *MW*

⁵He is depicted as a *Caṇḍāla*, a man of the lower rank, a kind of *Kirāṭa* mountaineer; barbarian; name of a *Pratyekabuddha*, *MW*.

⁶*Sūya*, II, 2.13, 312a.

⁷*VH*, 164, 9-14.

⁸*Bṛh. Bhā.*, 1. 2508; *Nisr. Cū.*, 16. 5158.

her stick Her touch and her saliva were believed to relieve all uncleanliness of body and soul.¹

THE ŚABARĪ SPELL

Like the Mātāṅgī spell the acquisition of the Śabarī spell indicates the association of magic spells with the tribal people. Spells were executed by assuming the form of a Kāpālīka, a Mātāṅga, a Rākṣasa, a Vānara, a Pulinda and so on. Fortunately, we get some glimpses of the Śabarī spell which was accomplished by assuming the form of a Śabara tribe. It could be practised in the company of one's own wife, but both had to practise strict celibacy, which was as difficult as walking on the blade of a sword. Homage was paid to Lord Rṣabha by offering him flowers, eatables and fruits. Then one had to stand observing religious austerities, first of all in order to propitiate Dharāṇa, the king of Nāgas, then to please the chief queen, who is dearer than one's own life, and lastly to honour the great lore Śabarī. Then after reciting the incantation, the namokāra, the ornaments and jewels of the body were set aside and the accom- plisher covered himself with bark and leaves. A bow and arrow was held in hands and his tuft of hair was tied with creepers and plants. Thus he assumed the form of a Śabara His wife, the *vidyādhari*, adorned with a garland of *guñjā* fruits (*Abrus precatorius*), looked beautiful like a female Śabarī After that the lord of Śabarās, the supreme sovereign king, whispered the spell in the ears of the couple They accepted it with a handful of flowers In this manner the spell was to be acquired for some time. Then the couple observed silence, paid obeisance to the Lord and bowed down to elders and the fellows of the same faith ²

It is stated that Śabaraśīla, the lord of the *vidyādharas*, was exceedingly powerful and a treasure-house of Śabara spells In course of time, after relinquishing all his glory, he renounced the world and began practising penance in a mountain-cave. His son Śabarāsenāpati, who was devoted to his father, installed a crystal

¹*Omens and Superstitions*, I, 27 My daughter Kalpana Sharma informs me from Brazil that Matungo in Portuguese means an old worthless horse or a strong horse

²*KVLM*, 131, 32-132, 4, 132, 13-133, 7, also *Kathākośaprakaraṇa*, p. 2.

image of the revered Ṛṣabha in the cave. Since then this place came to be known as an abode of achievement (*siddha-kṣetra*) of the *vidyādhara*s, belonging to the lord of the Śabara spell. This holy image was carried in front and carried round about the jungle. The *vidyādhara*s were heard declaring: "Let the spell be accomplished by the son of Śabaranātha, the lord of Śabarās, who had assumed the form of a Śabara by the power of Lord Ṛṣabha. "After that all the *vidyādhara*s flew to the sky, and the man and woman who had assumed the appearance of Śabarās, remained.¹ The association of lord Ṛṣabha, Dharapendra, mountain-cave and forest with the accomplishment of Śabara lores is quite significant. It indicates how the practices and beliefs in magical spells of tribal people are reflected in Prakrit Jain narrative literature.

RULES OF MORALITY

We have seen how difficult it had been to achieve magical spells for which one had to lead a life of self-restraint. Regarding the Śabari spell, the *Bṛhatkathākośa*, an important work of the tenth century AD by Harisena, provides us some more information. It is stated that the Śabarās dwelt on the top of the Mātāṅga mountain, and if the husband and wife wanted to acquire magic spells, they had to lead a life of celibacy for a period of six months or a year. The couple entered a thick forest where they could achieve their goal only if they could follow truth and celibacy; otherwise, we are told, the spell would vanish.² The same idea is conveyed in the story of ascetic Rudra, who while standing in meditation, lost his control by the sight of beautiful *vidyādhara* maidens. He proposed them to make love with him and accept him as their husband. But the maidens refused saying that the moment they were negligent in their self-restraint, they would be deprived of their magic lores.³ Similarly, it was revealed by Umā that her husband Śiva lost control over his magic spells while enjoying pleasures with her.⁴ The *Vaṭāla-pañcaviṃśatikā* has referred to Mṛgāṅkavatī, a female *vidyādhari*, who is said to have lost her spell as she fell in love with a king.⁵

¹KVLM, 133, 8-18.

²BKK, 75 1-9.

³ibid, 92. 84-113.

⁴ibid, 97, 179-80

⁵12.

It is to be noted that inspite of laying down strict rules of morality for accomplishing magical arts, very often the *vidyādhara*s became victims to their passions and desired to possess another man's wife. The *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya narrates the story of Mānasavega, the *vidyādhara*-lord, who enamoured of the beauty of Madanmañjukā, wife of the hero Naravāhanadatta (Vasudeva in the Jain version), kidnapped her and detained her in her pleasure garden. But he would not dare to take her to the women's quarter as he was afraid of the consequences of violation of moral laws laid down by Dharma. It was stated: "Any *vidyādhara*, who offends Jain monk or is guilty of violating a Jain temple or a couple, or who seizes another man's wife against her wishes, shall be deprived of his magical spell."¹ We meet Nilakanṭha, another *vidyādhara*, who had abducted Nilayaśas, but could not do anything to her against her wishes for the same reason.² We are told of Rāvaṇa, a powerful *vidyādhara* monarch, who could not violate the virtue of Sītā, for the fear of the consequences of violation of moral virtue. He did not even dare to touch her by hand while carrying her off, but by means of his magic power, transferred his divine car into a palanquin and made her get into it.³

As has been pointed out, the violation of a holy monk leads to dispossession of magic art. When Samjayanta, brother of Dharma, was brought to be killed to a mountain by Vidyuddamstra, a powerful *vidyādhara* king, Dharma got furious. He cursed the *vidyādhara* king in the following terms: "From now on you will have to make efforts to acquire magical spells and if one who has already acquired them, violates a Jain temple, a monk or a couple, will be deprived of them. And in the family of Vidyuddamstra, the great spells will not be accomplished by males, but by females only and that too with great difficulty."⁴ In order to make this law public, it is said that it was inscribed on the jewelled walls of the city.⁵ The law did not emphasise only the violation of a Jain monk or a temple, but

¹VH, 227, 14-15, *The Vasudeva*, 427.

²MKH, 1, 23, *The Vasudeva*, 33f.

³Guṇabhadra, *Uttarapurāṇa*, 68, 213, 207, *The Vasudeva*, 33n.

⁴VH, 264, 20-23, *The Vasudeva*, 457. It is said about Santal women that they had a meeting with Marang Buru and acquired magic powers, *Folk-tales of Santal*, p. 419ff.

⁵TSP, 1 3 213-217.

also affirmed that the one who killed a man near a monk, a Jain shrine, or in the company of his wife, or sleeping, shall have to suffer the same consequences.¹

We also read about the fights between the two *vidyādhara*s when the stronger one destroyed the spells of the weaker. Vegavati, one of the wives of Vasudeva, for instance, while protecting her husband against the attack of his enemy, was deprived of her spell.² Magic power was also lost by overworking or misusing it. Prabhāvatī, another wife of Vasudeva, in order to safeguard her husband, violated the tradition by assuming the appearance of Dharaṇa and consequently was dispossessed of her magic power.³ While accomplishing *vidyās*, one had to encounter various obstacles and impediments. The divine female gods appeared in fenciful dress expressing erotic gestures. On such occasions the accomplisher was advised not to fall a victim to temptations.⁴ Certain charms were to be acquired by remaining under water and at that time obstacles were created to disturb the mind.⁵

While tracing the origin of magical practices to primitive aborigines, it is noteworthy that the sex taboos were observed strictly in primitive society. The shamans and shamanis, for example, were supposed to observe stricter code of conduct than the laity. Some of those who attended the funeral ceremonies were expected to remain unmarried. If they married, they lost much of their power or fell ill. In the same way, adultery was considered a taboo if committed by a priest.⁶

POPULARITY OF MAGIC POWERS

The *Vidyānuvāda Pūrva*, one of the fourteen *Pūrvas*, which is no more extant now, is supposed to have dealt with various spells and charms. It is to be noted that like the Vedic law-giver Manu and Buddhists, Jain writers too condemned practising spells and charms.

¹VH, 125, 15-16, *The Vasudeva*, 205

²VH, 250, 8f, *The Vasudeva*, 449-50. In the *TSP* the magic power was lost for offending a monk, *The Vasudeva*, 450n

³MKH, *Pabhavatilambha*, *The Vasudeva*, 129-30.

⁴VH, 229, 27-29, *The Vasudeva*, 436

⁵*Vaitāla*, 18, 164

⁶Elwin, *The Religion of an Indian Tribe*, 517f. For other taboos see 522f.

The list of sinful sciences (*pāpaśruta*) referred to in the *Thānāṅga* includes *utpāta* (science of portents indicating rain, flood and other natural calamities), *nimitta* (divination), *mantra* (magical formulas), *ākhyāyikās* (science of Mātāṅgas by which a Cāṇḍālī has to utter oracles), *cikitsā* (science of medicine), *kalā* (arts) among others.¹ The *Samavāyāṅga* includes *bhauma* (terrestrial disturbances), *utpāta*, *svapna* (dream), *antarikṣa* (atmospheric omens), *aṅga* (prognostication from the limbs of the body), *svara* (omen from articulation), *vyāñjana* (foretelling from mole etc.), *lakṣana* (auspicious marks on the body), *vikathānuyoga* (science of *artha* and *kāma*), *vidyānuyoga* (science of accomplishing *Rohini* and other magical charms), *mantrānuyoga* (science of accomplishing *Ceṭaka* and other magical formulas), *yogānuyoga* (science of subjugation etc., incorporated in the *Harame-khalā* and other texts) and *atīrthikānuyoga* (texts of other religions).² It has been stated that a *bhikkhu* should not feel fascinated himself nor make others fascinated by employing *vidyā*, *mantra*, *tapolabdhī* (acquisition of power by austerities), *indrajāla* (magic power), *nimitta*, *antardhāna* (power of being invisible), *pādalepana* (application of ointment on feet), and so on.³ If one lives by employing these powers, it is stated that his austerities get crippled.⁴ But in spite of such mandates, magical practices were so common that the Jain monks could not afford to disregard them. They had to procure their food at the time of famine, heal diseases, overpower enemy, ward off evil spirits, locate hidden treasure at the time of extreme situations and so on.⁵

There are examples of various *ācāryas* and *śramanas*, who were obliged to use the magic charms under unusual conditions. It is said that Gośāla, a close associate of Mahāvira, had mastered the science of Eight *Mahānimittas*, and the Jain monks were sent to him for learning this science. Ārya Kālaka, Ārya Bhadrabāhu, Vajrasvāmi, Khapuṣa, Siddhasena, Pādalipta, Brahmadatta, Harikeśa,

¹ 608

² *Sama*, 29, 47, *Plṇḍa Nir*, Commentary, 406, *Uttarā Sū*, 15.7f, Haribhadra, *Āva Tī.*, 660

³ *Nisī Sū*, 11 66-67, *Bhā*, 3337

⁴ *ibid*, 11 3341 and *Cū*.

⁵ The persons endowed with superhuman powers, those equipped with Eight *Mahānimittas* and those possessed of various spiritual powers have been included among eight illuminators of Jain faith, *Nisī. Cū. pi.*, 33.

Viṣṇukumāra and many other *śramaṇas* are well known, who by employing various types of *rddhi*, *labdhi*, *vidyā*, *mantra*, *yoga* and medicine, practised magical charms.¹ The ancient Jain texts refer to certain common rites which were meant for daily performance. They had their bath, made offerings to the house-deities and observed auspicious and expiatory rites. These rites were performed before going to visit a temple, a saint, a king or a great man. People put on a mark of lampblack, held mustard-seeds, curds, rice and *dūrvā* grass and observed such other rites.² Certain other practices also have been mentioned. *Kautuka* was a mystic rite. It included (i) taking bath at cemetery or cross-roads by childless mothers, (ii) offering oblation to the fire, (iii) chanting of incantations accompanied with the movements of head, (iv) casting salt into the fire, (v) adding incense into the fire, (vi) changing apparel: an Ārya wearing the costume of a non-Aryan, of a man or a woman, (vii) embracing a tree, (viii) spitting out with the sound 'thu thu,' (ix) fastening a talisman³ *Bhūṭikarma* is besmearing the body with consecrated ashes as a protective charm. Sometimes the damp earth was applied or a piece of thread was tied in place of ashes. Jain monks employed this charm for protecting their residence, their body and the ritual paraphernalia against thieves. In case of a child, after performing this charm, a protective amulet was tied to a new born babe.⁴ In *Praśna* the question was asked from a deity who appeared on the thumb-nail, leavings of food, cloth, mirror, sword, water, wall or an arm. In *Praśnātipraśna* the question was answered by the deity who appeared in dream. According to another practice, the consecrated tiny balls were rung around the ear of a person and the Ghaṇṭika yakṣa, the family deity of Dombī, whispered the answer in her ear, which was conveyed to others. Other magical practices included *nimitta*, *lakṣaṇa*, *vyāñjana*, *svapna*, *vidyā*, *mantra* and *yoga*.⁵ Among other charms, mention can be made of powder prepared from various ingredients causing stiffness, employment of incanta-

¹See *Piṇḍ. Nir.*, 497-522, *Jain Āgam.*, 340ff.

²*Nāyā.*, 1, 8, *LAI*, 235.

³*Kautuka* also conveys the meaning of wonderful feats, performed by a juggler by putting iron balls in his mouth and taking them out through ear or nose, or taking out fire from his mouth, *Vya. Bhā*, 1, 116a f.

⁴*Āva. Cū*, 140

⁵*Nisī Sū*, 13, 17-27; 13.4287-4304, 13.4345.

tions, charms causing leprosy and other diseases, causing beauty, captivity of heart, captivity of body, causing subjugation, causing fascination, and various kinds of roots, bulbs, bark, creeper, herb, medicine, pills or tablets.¹

GREAT MAGICAL SPELLS

The *Vasudevahindī* records the following important magical spells. the *Mahārohini*, the *Prajñapti*, the *Gaurī*, the *Vidyumukhī*, the *Mahājvālā*, the *Tirakkhamanī*, the *Bahurūpā* and others,² the *Gaurī*, the *Gāndhārī*, the *Rohini*, and the *Prajñapti* are mentioned as Great Magic Arts (*Mahāvīdyā*) in the *Āvaśyaka Cūṛṇi*.³ These Great Magic Arts have figured as goddesses of learning (*vidyādevī*) in the sculpture of Deogarh temples in Madhya Pradesh.⁴ The *Prajñapti* spell seems to have been quite popular with Jains. It is said to have been bestowed upon Pradyumna by Kanakamālā *vidyādhari*.⁵ It was with the power of this magic art given by Prabhāvatī to Vasudeva that he was able to fight Mānasavega in the battle.⁶ Rāvana, lord of *Vidhyādhara*s, subdued this magic art, by wearing crowns of matted hair like ascetics, carrying rosary in hand, with his glance fixed on the tip of his nose.⁷ The *Prajñapti* has been mentioned in the *BKSS* and the *KSS*. The *Mahājvālā* was a powerful magic art which was able to overpower all other arts.⁸ The *Tirakkhamanī* (or *Tirakkharanī* or *Tiraskarinī*) was another magical power which concealed a person

¹*Nāḍa*, 14, 152

²*VH*, 164, 5-6, *The Vasudeva*, 13n. The *Surasundarī* record the following *vidyās* *Bahurūpā*, *Prajñapti*, *Gaurī*, *Gāndhārī*, *Mohanotpādinī*, *Ākarṣaṇi*, *Unmocani*, and *Vaśīkaraṇi*, 13-91, for the accomplishment of *Rohini vidyā* see 13, 66f and 5-123ff.

³161, The *MKH* (1, 46) has referred to eight magic art group (*vidyānikāya*) which has been described in the *Paṇḍamellugakaṇḍa*, the work is not available.

⁴See Balachandra Jain, *Pratimāvijñāna*, plates, I and V, figs 1, 2, 9, 10. According to D N Shukla, Jain goddesses of learning are combinations of Hindu goddesses, *Mahāvira and His Teachings*, pp 458-59, Bhagvan Mhavar 2500th Nirvan Mahotsava Samiti, Bombay, 1977.

⁵*VH*, 92, 18-19, *The Vasudeva*, 637ff. For the employment of this *vidyā* by Pradyumna see *VH*, 92, 4-97, 15; *The Vasudeva*, 161.

⁶*The Vasudeva*, 93.

⁷*VH*, 240, 24, *TSP*, IV, 119, also mentioned in the *BKK*, 97, 23; *TSP*, III, 236f.

⁸*VH*, 318, 14, *BKK*, 97, 26, *TSP*, III, 218.

or made the pregnancy covered;¹ it is a magical veil rendering the wearer invisible.²

Various *vidyās* were employed to counteract poison. The *Dātī vidyā* cured snake-bite if the same spot (as that of the affected) of the carrier of the news was rubbed. It can be cited as an example of sympathetic magic. *Ādarśa vidyā* cured a patient by casting his reflection in a mirror. The *Vastra vidyā* cured a patient by rubbing a piece of his garment. Jain monks employed this charm for curing snake-bite and carbuncle. The *Āntahpurikī vidyā* cured a patient if uttering the patient's name, one's own body was wiped. The *Darbha-viṣayā* cured a patient when wiped with *darbha* grass. The *Vyañjana-viṣayā* cured a patient by rubbing the charmed food. The *Tālavṛnta vidyā* cured a patient by rubbing the charmed fan. The *Capeṭi vidyā* cured a patient by slapping another person.³

Ancient Jain texts have referred to a number of other magical spells.⁴ Here are some of them:

Ābhogī or *Ābhoginī*: When chanted, it read the minds of others.

Antardhānī: It made a person invisible.

Añjanasiddhi: It conferred the occult power of seeing treasures.⁵

Avasvāpinī: It made a person go to sleep

Bandha-vimokṣaṇī: It could release a person from bondage

Bhuvanaksobhanī: It was an earth-shaking magic faculty. It was finally accomplished in a cemetery.⁶

Garbhākara: It caused pregnancy

Gardabhī: Anyone who happened to hear the braying of a female donkey, vomited blood and lost consciousness. This faculty of magical powers was said to have been possessed by King Gaddabhilla of Ujjeni

Jalastambhana vidyā: It checked the flow of water and changed it into a solid mass. By employing this *vidyā*, the mendicants just crossed the rivers while seated on the surface of water.⁷

¹VH, 84, 26, 241, 5, *The Vasudeva*, 635n.

²MW

³Vya Bhā, 5, 136-38, p. 27

⁴See *Sūya*, II, 2 13, 317b, VH, App. IV, p. 51, No. 74, TSP, IV, 121f, III, 41, I, 173, 175f, LAI, 230ff.

⁵KVLM, 151, 7

⁶PSM, Bloomfield, *The Life and Stories*, 37

⁷BKK, 19.4-5, *Parī*, 12.70.72; *Nisī. Cū.*, 13.4070.

Kāliṅgī: It was possessed by people of Kāliṅga.

Khanyavidyā It was a lore of mining. It helped to locate a treasure-trove.¹

Mohanī It bewildered a person. This magical faculty was employed against thieves.²

Patralaghukikā or *Patralaghuvidyā* or *Patralaghvī*: It made a person as light as a leaf.³

Praharanāvaranī. It made the attack of weapons powerless.

Pārāśarī It made the magic power concentrated in an axe.⁴

Sankarī After its recitation it was surrounded by friends and attendants who carried out the command.⁵

Stambhinī It suppressed hunger or thirst, or force of water, and water was paralyzed by its power.

Tālodghātīnī It was employed by thieves to open the lock while committing theft.

Viśalyakaranī It made a person free from the effect of a sharp weapon or pain. Viśalyā was Lakṣamaṇa's wife whose bath water was said to have cured the wound, it removed dirt and destroyed diseases.⁶

¹KVLM, 104, 31-32.

²Brh Bha, 3, 4809.

³VH, 125, 20, 328, 12, *The Vasudeva*, 205B

⁴TSP, IV, 44

⁵Uttarā Vr, 13, 189a, 194

⁶TSP, IV, 290, See LAI, 230-34 for *Vidyās*.

CHAPTER 4

Asceticism in Narrative Literature

Jainism is based on the principle of cessation of worldly activities which can be cultivated by practising penance and mortification. An ascetic denies himself ordinary bodily gratifications through self-mortification, leading utmost simple life free from luxury. He observes the rules of asceticism in order to have control over worldly pleasures so that he can achieve final emancipation by putting an end to his *karmas*.

The beginning of asceticism can be traced in the social and religious life of aborigines. In order to overcome natural calamities they had to undergo certain austerities or acts of self-inflicted discipline. For instance, at the occurrence of famine, which was taken as a direct infliction of demons, the only remedy to ward off this danger was to fast or to remain hungry. In this way, the physical austerities combined with magical practices were observed by a primitive man to keep away the dangers from natural forces. He had to feel a super-normal power within himself and thereby hope to get control over the forces of nature. In order to serve this purpose he employed various techniques such as the control of breath, abstinence, self-inflicted pain, and so on. In course of time, such practices of voluntary suffering formed a part of religious customs and marked the social and religious life of primitive people. Maria Leach has remarked, "Austerities may be undergone for magical purpose, to make life more tolerable, to placate the gods, as initiatory ceremonies, or during the period of mourning. . . . It includes fasting or abstinence from specific food, gashing or cutting body, circumcision, tattooing and supreme sacrifice. These sacrifices must be undergone, usually without any show of pain although many of them are so rigorous that death often results."¹

¹op. cit., I, 91. The Shamans are expected to observe rigid rules of life. Before any major sacrifice they are supposed to fast and abstain from sexual intercourse, M.C. Pradhan, *Anthropology and Archaeology*, 133f.

In Jainism various kinds of austerities such as fasting, meditating, renouncing, retiring to a secluded place and others have been enjoined. We have already seen how in order to propagate his religion, Mahavira preferred to visit the non-Aryan land where he suffered extreme hardships. In ancient Jain canonical texts we come across innumerable ascetic heroes, who by undergoing severe penance died and said to have achieved liberation. Some of them were thrown off from boats into the river, the entrails of some were eaten by a hungry jackal, others were hit with a sharp javeline, crushed under a machine, pinned to the ground like wet skin with hundreds of nails, bitten by a swarm of ants, eaten by worms and insects, withered by intense cold and heat and their body melted as it were like a lump of *ghee* owing to intense heat. All these monks are said to have attained the highest goal of emancipation.¹

RENUNCIATION AND ITS CAUSES

It seems that ancient Indian People renounced the world for no apparent reason. They seem to have developed a sense of insecurity while living in this mundane world. They realised that everything was transitory like the disappearance of a patch of cloud in the sky, and that there was nothing which was everlasting. Why then should not one aspire for what is perpetual and never-ending? In order to achieve this supreme goal one has been advised to have control over one's passionate feelings and lead a saintly life by practising penance. In Jain and Buddhist texts we meet the powerful Kṣatriya monarchs renouncing the worldly pleasures and join the ascetic order at a tender age.

The first appearance of gray hair in head is stated to be a messenger of religion (*dharmadūta*), warning people of impermanence of life and that one should be prepared to better his next life by abandoning worldly enjoyments. While dressing the hair of her husband, queen Dhārīṇī picked up a hair from his head and warned him that the messenger of death had arrived. Thereupon the king abandoned his kingdom and became an ascetic.² King Bharata noticed his finger

¹See Upadhye's Introduction to *BKK*, 26ff.

²*VH*, 17, 18-21, *The Vasudeva*, 573 and Note, Tawney, *Kathakośa*, 125, 146. In the *Arabian Nights* (II, Story 11, 224) a merchant looked his face into a looking-glass and noticed that his black beard was turning grey. It was taken as an approach of the minister of death.

devoid of the ring which he was wearing a little while ago. It looked very ugly and this was enough for him to take to initiation.¹ King Durmukha of Kāmpilyapura beheld the banner of Indra fall down after the festival was over and he joined the ascetic order.² Ariṣṭanemi noticing some animals kept in an enclosure for being slaughtered for the wedding feast, felt disgusted and renounced the world.³ The 'chain of destruction' instigating some one 'to get to religion' is significant in this connection. King Simha, while marching against a rebel, arrived at a river bank and noticed a frog, who being swallowed by a serpent, a serpent by an osprey and an osprey by a python. This sight made the king contemplate over the nature of worldly living beings and join the monastic order.⁴ This motif has been depicted in the sculpture of Vasaveshvara Jain temple, consecrated by the general Buchraj on the day of consecration of the Hoysal king Ballala, the second, in 1173 AD.⁵ The motif of the 'Chain of Destruction' has been depicted in a painted scroll in the *Kuvalayamālā*. A fight is pictured here between a lion and an elephant,⁶ a tiger, and a wild bull, wild buffaloes, antelopes, a serpent and a monster, a large fish and a small fish, crocodiles with other crocodiles, a peacock and a serpent, spiders and spiders, a spider catching an insect pursued by a lizard, the lizard caught by a black bird, the black bird by a bird of prey and the bird of prey falling to the ground and caught by a wild cat. The wild cat was attacked by a wild boar, the boar by a leopard, the leopard by a tiger, the tiger by a lion and the lion by a wild *śarabha*.⁷ The underlying idea behind this representation is to create a feeling of horror towards worldly life which is said to be full of suffering.

The following causes leading to renunciation have been mentioned

¹*Uttarā Vr.*, 18, 232a.

²*ibid*, 9, 136

³*Uttarā Sū*, 22, 14ff

⁴*Samardā*, 2, 148f. Read Emeneau's article *Studies in the Folk-tales in India*, III in the *JAOS*, 67 where the author has made a comparative study of the motif. He has pointed out that chronologically the motif is noticed in the Jain texts first.

⁵Emeneau, *op cit*

⁶It has been depicted in the Kailas temple at Ellora, V S. Agrawala, *A Cultural Note, Kuvalayamālā*, 126.

⁷188, 33-189, 17, also 140, 8-22.

in ancient Jain texts: voluntary, in a fit of anger, out of poverty, seeing a dream, indignity, enlightenment by divine gods and affection for a son who had already joined the ascetic order.¹ Loss of children, failure in love, want of a suitable match, desire to escape from a troublesome mother-in-law, indebtedness etc., can be added to the list. We are told of a minister's wife, Poṭṭilā, who entered the nun's order as she had lost the love of her husband.² Another woman joined the nun's order as her husband did not return for a long time from his journey.³ A woman whose husband was dead or a man whose wife, was dead joined the ascetic order in a spirit of depression.⁴ We hear of a young prince, who leaving behind his newly married wife, entered the monastic order. After some time the wife died and was reborn as a divine goddess. She came down on the earth with a vengeance. She reflected in her mind, "Look at this cruel man who abandoned me in the prime of my youth." She created disturbance in his penance and went on pointing out her genital passage to the ascetic.⁵ There is a story of two merchant sons, who entered into a bet, and the one who thought that he would lose, became a monk.⁶ Some people unable to pay their debts off, accepted ascetic life. We read about Somaśarmā, who borrowed money from a merchant and set out to earn his fortune. On the way he was plundered by *dasyus* in a forest and lost all what he possessed. Somaśarmā felt extremely disgusted and joined the ascetic order.⁷ Poverty was another important factor urging people to renounce the world. We hear of certain merchants who in order to improve their lot, tried all sorts of means. They cultivated land, tended cattle, made trips to foreign lands, tried alchemy, played game of dice, participated in wrestling, employed miraculous eye-paint, used spell and tried to win divine favour. But when nothing resulted from their endeavours, they joined the order of ascetics.⁸ We are told of a poor woodcutter, who overstricken with poverty,

¹Thā, 10, 712

²Nayā, 14, 151-52

³Vya Bhā, IV, 2, 46a

⁴Nisī Cū, 4, 1682f, p. 257

⁵BKK, 8, 11-19

⁶VH, 116, 21-117, 1

⁷BKK, 16

⁸KVLM, 191, 3-192, 21

became a monk. But while going on a begging tour, people ridiculed and scoffed at him. When this incident was brought to the notice of King Śreṇika Bimbasāra, he ordered his minister to look after the members of the family of those who joined the order of *Śramanas*.¹ The ascetic Agniśarmā is seen to have confessed that poverty, humiliation and ugliness were the main causes of his renouncing the worldly pleasures.² Subhadrā accepted the order of nuns as she had no children. After joining the order as she could not get rid of the crave for children, whenever she came across a child she fondled him, liked him, made him sit on her lap and played with him.³ People unable to protest against the licentious behaviour of a monarch, yielded to him and renounced the world in desperation. King Madhu, enamoured of delightful touch of Candrābhā's hands, held her in his palace and would not let her go back to her house. Thereupon her husband, frightened of the tyrannous king, joined the order of ascetics.⁴

RENUNCIATION CEREMONY

The ceremony of renunciation was held with pomp and glory. Even kings and officials participated in the ceremony and declared state support to those who joined the ascetic order. After listening to the sermons of Ariṣṭanemi, when Thāvaccāputta desired to join the Master's order, his mother approached Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva, with a request to lend her the royal umbrella, crown and choweries so that the renunciation ceremony of her son could be solemnised. Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva told her not to worry as he himself was going to organise the ceremony. Then a declaration was heard that the royalty would look after those who wished to enter the monastic order.⁵ The *Nāyādhammakahāo* provides us a graphic description of the ceremony. After listening to the preachings of Mahavira when prince Meghakumāra expressed his keenness to renounce the world, his mother fell unconscious.⁶ Then after regaining consciousness, she tried to dissuade her son from his determination. She volunteered

¹Das, Cū, 83.

²Samard, 1, 18

³Pupphiyā, 29ff.

⁴VH, 90, 13-29

⁵Nāyā, 5, 70-1.

⁶cf When Rājīmatī approached her mother to obtain permission to join the nun's order, the mother started trembling, her bangles broke and she fell unconscious, *Uttarā Vṛ*, 22, 209a.

various reasons and arguments in support of her view. But when all attempts failed to hold him back, his parents wanted him to enjoy the splendid glory at least for a day. The king arranged for his son's coronation ceremony. Amidst the cries of victory the prince was given a bath with 108 pitchers made of gold, silver and precious jewels. The king declared, "O, you conquer those who are unconquered and protect those who are already conquered; you conquer the enemies and take care of your friendly circle. You rule over the subject like the sovereign king Bharata." Then the parents asked if they could do something for him. The prince requested them to arrange for religious paraphernalia required for initiation. A barber was called for hair-cut, the prince was given a bath, his body was anointed with sandalwood paste and he was nicely dressed and decorated. He was made to sit on a palanquin with his mother on the right and his foster-mother with a duster and a bowl on the left. The two charming young ladies stood on both sides waving the flying-whisks. He was applauded with congratulations from the subjects and blessing from elders. Thus the prince arrived at the shrine of Rājgrha and was presented to revered Mahavira as his disciple.¹ We read the same story about Jambu whose mother was extremely grieved to learn that her son was going to relinquish the worldly pleasures and join the ascetic order. She persuaded him to have worldly enjoyments in the company of eight merchants' daughters to whom he was betrothed already. She told him time and again that she would like to see him very much as a bridegroom. Jambu agreed to obey his mother on condition that he would not stay a day longer after the wedding ceremony was over. Ultimately, Jambu entered the ascetic order together with all his newly-married brides. An interesting dialogue is recorded between the royal sage Nami and Indra in which the high ideal of asceticism is preached. When king Nami after giving up his kingdom of Mithilā, retired from the world, Indra approached him saying, "O revered sage! your beautiful palace is blazing with fire, why don't you see that your harem is in flames?"² Nami replied, "O Indra! I am not least disturbed by what you say, I have acquired perfect equanimity of mind. If Mithilā is on fire, I have nothing to lose." Hearing these

¹Nāya., 1, 25-33

²VH, 4, 1-16, 7, also 272, 15-273, 20, *The Vasudeva*, 467f.

words of the sage, Indra went away.¹

ASCETICISM NOT FAVOURED

Inspired by the teachings of Mahavira and Buddha, men and women gave up the worldly pleasures and entered the monastic order. This must have created a feeling of discontent and disharmony amongst people. How painful it must have been for parents, husbands and wives and other close relatives to be separated from their dear ones, who were not to have returned home any more. In the absence of the head of the family, the life of women and children must have become miserable. It is not surprising that under the circumstances the religion of Buddha was accused of turning women into widows and making families sonless.² An ancient Jain text refers to a drama, the *Rāṣṭrapāla* which represented a powerful portrait of Bharat's renunciation. Its public performance was presented by a Jain monk in Pāṭaliputra. The impact of the performance was so deep that it made numerous kings and princes to abandon the worldly pleasures and become monks. Later, it is said that this dramatic work was destroyed with the apprehension that it might deprive the world from the gallantry of Kṣatriyas.³ This indicated that the Jains also felt the pinch of the public opinion. Indiscriminate mendicancy was forbidden during the time of Mauryan rulers. Those who entered the ascetic order without making provision for their wives and children, were punished.⁴ Kauṭilya prohibited the practice of abandoning domestic life, and laid down that only those who were old could become ascetics after making adequate provision for those

¹Uttarā Sū., 9

²Read the remarks made by Rabindranath Tagore. He writes: 'At the dead of night the aspirant resolved, "I must leave my home and seek my God. Who has beguiled and kept me here?" God whispered, "I." But the would-be ascetic heard it not. Seeing his wife fast asleep, her babe clasped to her breast, he muttered, "What are you if not a snare?" God whispered, "Nought else but I," but none was there to heed. Leaving his bed he cried, "Where are thou O Lord?" "Here" came the reply. He heeded not. The child wailed in its dream pulling at its mother. God commanded, "Turn back." The ascetic ignored the behest. God sighed and said, "Alas, where is my devotee straying, deserting me?" Krishna Kripalani, *Rabindranath Tagore—A Biography*, 173

³*Piṇḍa. Nir.*, 474-80.

⁴M G. Bhagat, *Ancient Indian Asceticism*, 297

who were dependents. He also prohibited women to join the order of nuns¹

These were the days of exploitation and political instability. The upper class exploited the weaker section. Political conflicts resulted in tyranny, lawlessness and rivalry. Ruthlessness of criminal laws and usury prevailed. Under the circumstances there seemed to be no way out except to take refuge in Jain or Buddhist *saṅgha*. There appeared criminals, robbers, kidnappers, child-lifters, debtors, slaves, sick and poverty-stricken people, pregnant women, desperate women, aged people, young children and others, who raised their status by entering the monastic order. Confronted with such a situation beyond control, the elders laid down certain rules to make the organisation more compact and steady. To avoid irregularities, it was made compulsory to obtain the permission of elders or guardians before joining the ascetic order. Mahavira had to wait for his elders' permission before relinquishing the world. Five Pāṇḍavas obtained the permission of Draupadī before entering the order.² Queen Mṛgāvati, in absence of her husband, got the sanction of king Pradyota to join the order of nuns.³ This was a general precept, though there were cases when it was not considered possible to seek the permission of the elders for joining the order. Tarangavatī and her husband Padmadeva took out their ornaments from their person and handing them over to the servant, told him to convey the news of their entering the monastic order to their parents.⁴ Then, Śivakumāra, not permitted to renounce the world by his parents, observed the vow of silence in protest.⁵ Later, it seems specific instructions were advanced to prohibit certain people from joining the order of *śramanas*. These people included young children, young girls, pregnant women, aged people, eunuchs, dull-witted, sick persons, lunatics, blind and deformed people, slaves, wicked persons, robbers, king's offenders, block-headed, attendants, debtors and those who were kidnapped.⁶

¹ibid, 327

²*Nāyā*, 16, 198

³*Āva Cū*, 11, 91f

⁴*Taraṅgalolā*, 1540-41

⁵*VH*, 24, 8-12.

⁶*Ṭhā*, 3 202, *Nisī*, *Bhā*, 11, 3506f, cf. *Mahāvagga*, 1. 31ff.

POSITION OF WOMEN

Mahavira has assigned an important place to women in his *saṅgha*. As the *ācārya* was the highest male administrator, heading a group of monks, so was the *gaṇinī* heading over a group of nuns. Candanā or Candanabālā was the first woman disciple of Mahavira who headed the order of nuns and achieved liberation.¹ We come across numerous women, mentioned in ancient Jain Canons, who by observing strict rules of discipline, achieved the highest goal of life. Rājmatī's episode is very popular with Jains. She practised severe penance at the mount Girnar and attained salvation. We meet a number of virtuous laudable women in the post-canonical literature, who fought against all kinds of odds and maintained their virtue. These women are glorified by Jain writers. It is noteworthy that inspite of this glorification, the attitude towards women does not find favour with Jains. We read the condemnation of women by a Jain monk while narrating the story of Sāmadattā. After listening to the story, Dhammilla questioned the monk, "O revered one, all women are not of the same nature, there must have been some noble-minded virtuous women too. "Thereupon the monk narrated the story of Dhanaśrī, who remained virtuous for twelve years without her husband.²

Whatever it may be, one thing is certain that the ascetic philosophy could not favour women. They must be kept at a distance if a monk wanted to accomplish his goal to achieve *nirvāṇa*. It is stated that as a pot filled with lac catches fire immediately, so a monk is lost through the association of women.³ He has been advised to commit suicide if he found himself unable to control his sensuous desire for women.⁴ A monk is supposed to observe the rules of celibacy in mind, words and deed and for that he has been asked to keep himself occupied

¹Brāhmi, the sister of Bharata, was appointed as head of nuns by Ṛṣabha.

²VH, 49, 20-52, 15; *The Vasudeva*, 613-18, also *Bhag. Ārā.*, 999 Commentary; LAI, 80; also Jagdish Chandra Jain, *Women in Jainism, Women in the Religious Traditions of India*, to be published shortly

³Sūya, 4. 1. 27, 4. 1. 11; LAI, 200

⁴Ācā., 1. 242, p 252; *Jain Āgam*, 400. *Strīpariṣaha* is one of the twenty-two *pariṣahas* (afflictions) which a monk is required to observe in order not to be vanquished by women.

in studying holy scriptures, practising meditation and preaching religious sermons to his followers.¹

But it was no easy task to keep one's mind under control and the monks could not avoid falling prey to the charm and beauty of women. We are told how a monk, being tormented by sensuous desire for women, gave up his ascetic life and became submissive to a woman. She scolded him, kicked him and kept him under control by ordering him to provide her clothes, ornaments, unguents and other articles of beautification. In course of time when the child was born he was asked to fondle the baby like a nurse and look after him.² We are told of an episode of Rathanemi who was engaged in practising penance on the same mountain where his sister-in-law Rājīmatī was practising. Rathanemi lost control and began to woo Rājīmatī. The virtuous nun resisted his attempts and put him on the right path by offering a drink in which she had vomitted.³ The monk Sambhūta by the delicate touch of lovely hair of a queen, lost his self-control and with an intense desire to enjoy pleasures with women, resolved to be reborn as sovereign king in the next birth.⁴ The following dialogue reported in the *Niśītha Cūrni* is self-explanatory:

The Monk: "Why didn't you go for collecting alms today?"

The nun: "I am on fast."

"Why?"

"I want to remedy my passions. And what about you?"

"I am doing the same."

"Why did you join the order?"

"Because my husband died. And what about you?"

"My wife died."

Seeing the monk looking at her with a passionate look, she inquired:

"What are you looking at?"

"I am comparing the two. In your laugh, your talk, and in your beauty you just look like my wife. Your appearance creates infatuation in me."

¹*Das Sū*, 2 7-11; *Uttarā. Sū.*, 22

²*Sūya*, 11, 6, p. 388 and Commentary, *LAI*, 200f

³*Das Sū*, 2 7-11, *Uttarā*, 22, *LAI*, 154.

⁴*Uttarā Vr*, 13, 186a ff

"As my appearance creates infatuation in you, so does yours in me."¹

We hear of monk Ādraka, who unable to bear the hardships of his ascetic life, married a merchant's daughter. After his wife gave birth to two children, he thought of returning to monkhood. At this time, being questioned about her profession by one of the children, the mother replied, "Look, your father wants to join the ascetic order, I have taken up to spinning." Hearing this the child wrapped up his father twelve times with a piece of thread indicating that the father had to live with the family for twelve years.² Ācārya Āśāḍha-bhūti abandoned his ascetic life and married an acrobat's daughters. Once noticing them sleeping fast under the influence of intoxication, he felt disgusted and returned to his previous life.³ We are told of the monk Nami, who relinquished his ascetic practices three times, every time marrying a new girl. He fell in love with Kañcanamālā, daughter of an acrobat, and married her. He lived with her for some time and returned to his previous life. This time he fell in love with Viśvadevī, a potter's daughter, and married her. He returned to monkhood after living with her for a year. Once when he was sojourning in Mūlasthāna (Multan in Pakistan), he went on a begging tour and was enchanted by the beauty of princess Vasantasenā. The monk visited the princess secretly during night and enjoyed pleasures with her.⁴ Bhavadeva was another monk who is said to have entered the monastic order without the knowledge of his newly-married wife. While practising austerities he was always reminded of her, but was helpless. One day under some pretext, he visited his family members and expressed his desire to return to household life. But the noble wife preached him religion and re-established him in monkhood.⁵ As discussed already, Mahavira made no distinction between men and women and the rules laid down in ancient Jain scriptures were the same for both.⁶ When Ariṣṭanemi being disgusted

¹Nisī. Cū, 4 1682f, p. 257

²Sūya, II, 6, 388.

³Pinḍa Nir, 474ff.

⁴BKK, 98. 1-119.

⁵VH, 20, 19-23, 6, *The Vasudeva*, 577f.

⁶cf. While permitting women to join the order of nuns, Buddha remarked that the good *dharma* would stand fast only for five hundred years. But as the centuries passed without Buddhism being extinct in India, the original

from the worldly pleasures, wanted to quit the house, he was cited examples of Rṣabha and other Tīrthankaras, who enjoyed a married life, raised children, gave charity to poor, ruled over the earth for the welfare of the subjects, and then in ripe age decided to relinquish the world¹ This indicates that the household life too was given due importance.

Then why women are condemned and depicted as fickle-minded, treacherous, cunning, intriguing and crooked? Why a distinction is made between men and women when all have been declared equal with no discrimination of caste, creed, sex or colour? These are the questions to which the answer appears simple. If the monkhood is to be safeguarded, a monk had to protect himself against the allurements and charms of women. A woman is called the cause of all suffering and the one who steadfastly keeps away from her, is a true hero. So if the ascetic rules are to be observed strictly, women have to be kept at a distance and declared as a natural enemy to asceticism.

The question arises how Jain writers emphasise the role of women in society? It is a reflection of accepted way of life? And whether this position was accepted by women themselves? Are women conscious the way they have been treated? Then what is their place in society? Are they lower to men, though they are progenitors of great men? The ancient Jain Canons have treated them on a par with men and yet it has been declared. "A monk of three years standing could become a teacher of a nun of thirty years standing, and that a monk of five years standing could become a teacher of a nun of sixty years standing"² Later, they were even prohibited to study certain holy scriptures³ Though here and there we hear some protesting voice on the part of women against such mandates, but they are few. The minister of king Ratnaśekhara tells the princess of Simhaladvīpa to keep away as he hates women and would not like even to see their face. Here a dialogue takes place between the two.

Minister. "The thing which is not traced in any narration, nor referred to in scriptures, nor known to gods and goddesses and which strikes none, is spoken harshly by devilish women."

limit of five hundred years was extended to five thousand years, Sukumar Dutt, *The Buddha and five after Centuries*, 246n

¹See *DSMV*, p. 11.

²*Vya. Bhā*, 7. 15f, 7. 407, *LAI*, 153

³*Brh. Bha. Pi* 146, *Vya. Bhā*, 5. 139, *LAI*, 153

Princess: "A man is absolutely careless, he never bothers about good or bad. He violates the chastity of women, never observes any compassionate virtue and gets irritated at the name of virtuous people."

M: "A woman plays hundreds of tricks and denies and induces others to repeat them. She always tries to impress upon her truthfulness. She always sticks to borne-out old traditions and gives up virtue in the company of wicked men."

P: "A man speaks false words piercing the vitals. True religion is beyond his comprehension. He corrupts noble women and condemns them calling adulterous. Such persons are good for nothing."¹

In this connection Varāhamihira, the great upholder of women's cause, has made the following notable bold remark: "All the defects that have been attributed to women exists in men as well, with the only difference that women try to remove them while men are absolutely indifferent to the matter. For example, marriage vows are equally binding on both of them but men treat them lightly while women follow them sincerely. Men marry in their old age, whereas women lead a chaste life even if widowed in the prime of their youth. Men go on talking of their love to their wives while they are alive but go on brooding over a second marriage soon after their death. In case of women, they sincerely feel grateful to their husbands and follow them to their funeral pyre. To call women fickle, frail and faithless is the height of impudence and ingratitude on the part of men. They are just like clever thieves who first send away their loot and then challenge innocent persons demanding from them the stolen property."²

HARDSHIP OF ASCETIC LIFE

As it has been said, the life of a monk was tough and hard. It has been described as hard as to swim against the current of the Ganges, to cross the sea by the strength of arms, to eat the mouthful lump of sand, to tread on the edge of a sword, to bite an iron ball, to catch the flames of blazing fire, and to attempt to measure

¹Rayapaseharīkahā, 16af

²76. 12, 14, 16, 17, A. S. Altekar, *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation*, 387

a mountain in a scalepan.¹ It has been stated that after prince Meghakumāra accepted the ascetic order, he could not get sleep even for a moment as he was disturbed by his fellow-monks, who used to get up at night and occupied themselves in performing religious duties. While walking up and down, some collided with his head and others with the stomach. They trespassed him elbowing his body so much so that it became impossible to rest for him even for a while. The ascetic Meghakumāra reflected in his mind, "As long as I occupied the position of a prince, all of them respected me, honoured me, consulted me, and conferred with me in polite words. But now they don't even seem to bother and do not even look at me! Therefore it is better if at an earliest opportunity, I seek the permission of my teacher and after giving up my religious paraphernalia, return to the household life." But somehow, as we are told, Meghakumāra re-established himself to ascetic life. He then started practising severe penance. His body became emaciated, starved, shrunk and contracted, as if with no flesh or blood. It was with great exertion that he could walk or sit. When he tried to get up with difficulty his bones cracked like a dried leaf or a piece of wood.² We are told about the royal sage Śailaka, who had to live on coarse, tasteless, cold and stale food as a result of which he suffered intensely from itching and bilious fever.³ Dhanya was another monk, who due to practising severe penance, became emaciated, lean and thin and almost devoid of flesh.⁴

STANDING IN MEDITATING POSTURE (KĀYOTSARGA)

Monks while practising penance stood in a meditating posture for a long period. We are told of Bāhubali that while practising austerities, the vines grew up around his legs and covered his body, and the white ants prepared a mound in his feet. He is stated to have remained in that posture for a period of one year.⁵ This motif is noticed in the case of the sage Cyavana, who assumed the standing

¹Nāya, 1, 28.

²Nāya, 1, 34f, 43 cf. extreme emaciation of Buddha's body from long fasting. The grim details of his body are reproduced in sculpture.

³Ibid, 5, 79f.

⁴Anuttaro, 3 1.

⁵VH, 187, 21-23, Āva Cū, 211, Tawney, Kathākośa, 195,

posture and stood quiet and still like a post for a long time. His body was covered with creepers and he was turned into an ant-hill.¹ There is an Orāon story of a *muni*, who absorbed in divine contemplation, while standing in a forest. He remained in the same posture till his body got rooted in the ground and covered with ant-hill. Around the ant-hill grew up a thorny creeper, a long thorn from which entered his chest. A hunter mistook the ascetic for an ant-hill covered stump of a tree. He struck his axe to shake it off.² It is significant that the ant-hill has been considered as sacred because Lord Śiva is said to have manifested himself in that form. Vālmiki was born or he performed penance in an ant-hill. In this connection Father Elwin informs us that at Sunargaon there exists a tomb of Ponki Diwana, known as the 'White-Ant Madman' because he sat for twelve years in the forest and allowed the white ants (*ponka*) to build a mound about him upto his neck. The aboriginals show reverence to the ant-hill like Hindus. It is a popular motif in folk-tales. There has been a belief that the treasure is buried at the bottom of ant-hill which is guarded by snakes.³ Among Indian tribes Banumbasum is considered as the God of an ant-hill.⁴ This motif is noticed elsewhere in a different form. An elephant died at the river bank, its anus was eaten by jackals and other beasts. Some crows entered inside the corpse through anus and lived there eating the elephant's flesh. After some time due to hot weather the body of the elephant dried and the passage of anus was contracted. Seeing this the crows felt happy as now they could stay inside eating the flesh for a longer period. In the monsoon the corpse of the elephant was floated by water and reached the sea. The poor crows could not come out and died there.⁵ In the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, instead of crows, a Brahman entered the corpse of the elephant and there he felt sleepy. In the monsoon when the corpse floated to the sea, a *garuda* bird picked the Brahman up by its beak and carried him to an island.⁶ In a Santal story we have an elephant who died of snake-bite. A jackal made a large hole in the corpse, entered inside

¹MBH, 3, 122.2-4, Bhagat, *Ancient Indian Asceticism*, 207.

²S. C. Roy, *The Orāons of Chota Nagpur*, 14-6.

³Folk-tales of *Mahakaushal*, 330f, Note.

⁴*The Religion of Indian Tribe*, 97.

⁵VH, 168, 8-15

⁶II. 4, 107-109, *The Ocean*, I, 141.

and started eating the flesh. In course of time, the elephant's skin shrank due to heat of the sun, consequently the jackal could not come out and died inside.¹ Bloomfield has recorded somewhat similar episode in Kota story. A boy with the intention of 'seeing a god' went to the forest where he sat under a tree for three days. There he died on the fourth day. His body was swollen in the course of time. On the eighth and ninth days a large rat pushed earth from a hole all over his body.²

This is how asceticism is reflected in a variety of ways in the stories of Prakrit Jain narrative literature that emphasises the living tradition of a community.

¹*Fol-ktales of Santal*, 297f

²*Studies in the Folk-tales of India*, III, *JAOS*, 67.

CHAPTER 5

Popular Deities

The worship of trees, rivers, mountains, caves and other natural phenomena is an age-old tradition. In order to ward off natural calamities, misfortune and invasion of enemies, and to have a good harvest, progeny, health and prosperity, the aborigines propitiated popular deities. In the list of folk deities recorded under the heading of *devatā-vijaya* (victory of deities), the *Angavijjā* (fourth century AD) mentions *sāgara* (ocean), *nadī* (river), *giri* (mountain), *pṛthivī* (earth), *radāga* (tank) and others. There were separate deities for Aryans (*Ārya-devatā*) and non-Aryans (*Mleccha-devatā*).¹ In order to cross wild forests successfully, the trading merchants placated the sylvan deity. They stood in meditation and set the deity's *āsana* in motion imploring him to guide to the right direction.² The seafaring merchants worshipped the sea-deity so that they could return home safely from their voyage.³ *Sītā* was a rustic deity of harvest, and sacrifice (*sītāyajña*) was offered to her by the tillers of the land.⁴ As the tillers of the land worshipped the plough-deity, so did the cowherds the mountain-deity.⁵ The ancient Jain texts provide us with useful details pertaining to various deities, their mode of worship, nature of shrines and observations of rituals and practices. The *Nāyādharmakahāo* furnished the following list of the local festivals celebrated in honour of folk-deities:

- 1 Indamaha (Indramaha): festival of Indra
- 2 Khandamaha (Skandamaha): festival of Skanda

¹51, 204-6, also see 58, 223f.

²*Brh. Bhā*, 1.3108

³*Nāyā.*, 8, 98

⁴*Brh. Bhā*, 1.3647, *LAI*, 89 and n.

⁵*Girijanna (giriyañña)* was celebrated in rainy season in the country of Lāṭa *Brh. Bhā.*, 1.2855, Also *Harivamśa*, 2, 169, Agrawala, *Ancient, Indian Folk Cults*, 8f.

3. Ruddajattā (Rudrayātrā): festival of Rudra
4. Sivajattā (Śivayātrā): festival of Śiva
5. Vesamañajattā (Vaiśramañayātrā): festival of Vaiśramaṇa
6. Nāgajattā (Nāgayātrā): festival of Nāga
7. Jakkhajattā (Yaksayātrā): festival of Yakṣa
8. Bhūyajattā (Bhūtayātrā): festival of Bhūta
9. Najjattā (Nadiyātrā): festival of river
10. Talāyajattā (Taḍāgayātrā): festival of tank
11. Rukkhajattā (Vṛkṣayātrā): festival of tree-deity
12. Ceiyajattā (Caitayātrā): festival of Caitya
13. Pavvajajattā (Parvatayātrā): festival of mountain-deity
14. Ujjānajattā (Udyānayātrā): festival of garden-deity
15. Girijattā (Giriyātrā): festival of hill-deity¹

In this connection the list of gods and goddesses mentioned in the *Angavijjā* is noteworthy. The list includes not only Jain gods and goddesses but also Vedic and other popular deities worshipped by common people. These deities are Sura, Gandharva, Vasu, Yakṣa, Pitarā, Preta, Āditya, Aśvin, Soma, Candara, Graha, Baladeva, Vāsudeva, Śiva (lord of cows, buffaloes and sheep), Vaiśravaṇa (patron god of merchants and rich men), Varuna (lord of the seas), Skanda (associated with Kumāra), Viśākha (associated with sheep, ram, Kumāra and sword), Agni, Māruta, Sāgara, Nadī, Indrāgni, Brahmā, Indra (supreme god), Upendra, Kāma, Gīri, Yama, Rātri, Divasa, Airāṇī (Acirā-Indrāṇī), Śrī,* Pṛthivī,* Ekanāsā, Navamikā,* Nāgī* and so on. Besides, the goddesses of vegetation (Vanaspati-devatā), of hills (Parvata-devatā), of seas (Samudra), rivers (Nadī), wells (Kūpa), tank (Taḍāga) and ditch (Palvala) have been referred to. Then we have goddesses of direction (Diśā), of intellect (Buddhi), of creepers (Latā), of objects (Vastu), and of city (Nagara). Then the goddesses of crematorium (Śmaśāna), of a place of voiding excrement (Varca)

¹ 1, 23 The *Rāyapaseṇiya* furnishes the following list: Indamaha, Khandamaha, Ruddamaha, Maundamaha, Sivamaha, Vessamaṇamaha, Nāgamaha, Jakkhamaha, Bhūyamaha, Thūbhamaha, Ceiyamaha, Rukkhamaṇa, girimaha, Darimaha, Agaḍamaha, Naimaha, Saramaha, and Sāgaramaha. The following are recorded in the *Nisītha Sūtra* (8.14): Inda, Khanda, Rudda, Maunda, Bhūya, Jakkha, Nāga, Thūbha, Ceiya, Rukkhā, Gīri, Darī, Agaḍa, Taḍāga, Dāha, Nai, Sara, Sāgara and Ākara. *Rukkhaxovana (vṛkṣārṇava)* is mentioned in the *Jīva*, 3, 151a.

* Marked have been mentioned in the *VH*, App. 4, under 39, 44 and 45.

and of dung-hill (Ukkuruḍika) have been added. These gods and goddesses were of three categories: the Best, the middle and the lowest.¹ Another list of goddesses refers to Hri,* Śrī,* Lakṣmī,* Kīrti, Medhā, Smṛti, Dhṛti, Dhi, Buddhi, Ilā, Sītā,* Vidyā,* Vijjātā, Chandralekhā, Utkoṣā (Ukkosasā), Abbharāyā, Ahodevī, Devī, Devakanyā, Asurakanyā, Indrāgramahiṣī, Asurāgramahiṣī, Airikā, Bhagavatī, Alambuṣā,* Mīsrakeśī,* Menakā,* Mṛgadarsānā, Apalā, Aṇādītā, Airāṇī, Rambhā,* Timisrakeśī,* Tidhiṇī, Śālimālīnī, Tīlottamā,* Citrarathā, Citralekhā, Urvaśī* and others.² Amongst them, Apalā is identified with Greek goddess Pallas Athene, Aṇādītā with the Avestic goddess Anahita, Airāṇī with the Roman goddess Irene, Timisrakeśī with the nymph Themis and Śālimālīnī is identified with Moon-goddess Selene.³

INDRAMAHA (FESTIVAL OF INDRA)

Indra is a Vedic god of great antiquity and is the chief of all other gods. The *Niśītha Cūrṇi* has referred to the four great festivals (*mahāmaha*) viz., Indramaha, Skandamaha, Yakṣamaha and Bhūtamaha. The Indramaha was celebrated on the full moon day of Āṣāḍha (June-July), Skandamaha on the full moon day of Āśvina (September-October), Yakṣamahā on the full moon day of Kārtika (October-November) and the Bhūtamaha on the full moon day of Caitra (March-April).⁴ The festival in honour of Indra is said to have been celebrated with great pomp by king Durmukha in Kāmpilyapura. The king commanded the citizens to erect a flag-staff which was raised amidst the beating of auspicious musical instruments. It was flagged with white banners, decorated with small bells, covered with beautiful wreaths and garlands, adorned with string of jewels and decked with pendent mass of fruits. Then the dancing girls performed their dances, poetic compositions were recited, a multitude of people danced with joy, wonderful feats were demonstrated by jugglers, betels were served, water scented

¹51, 205f

²ibid, 9 69,

³Marked have been mentioned in the *VH*, App. 4, under 39, 44 and 45

⁴Moti Chandra, *Āṅgavijja*, Intro 42; V S Agrawala, Intro, 61f.

⁴19. 11-12 and *Bhāṣya* For the origin of *Indradhvaja* (Indra's banner) in Jain tradition, see *Āva. Cū*, 213.

with camphor and saffron was sprinkled, magnificent gifts were given and the sound of drums was heard all over. In this manner seven days passed in great rejoicing and revelry. Then approached the full moon day when the king worshipped the Indra's banner with great pomp and ceremony, with flowers, garments and so on.¹ According to another tradition, the festival of Indra was celebrated in the country of Lāṭa (Saurashtra) on the full moon day of Śrāvaṇa (July-August).² In Maharashtra the fifth day of the bright half of Bhādrapada (August-September) was the day of celebration of Indra's festival. According to Jain tradition, the Jain festival of Paryūṣana was celebrated on this day but owing to the popularity of the Indra festival, the Jain *ācāryas* changed the Paryūṣana day from the fifth to the fourth day of Bhādrapada.³ Elsewhere the festival of Indra was celebrated after the rainy season.⁴

Indra's banner was erected in the city of Mahāpura where the festival in honour of Indra was celebrated by people going around the banner and worshipping and bowing down to the deity.⁵ The festival was also celebrated in Dvārakā. On this occasion, we are told that seeing the people nicely dressed and moving about in a sportive mood, the ābhira were greatly impressed.⁶ Hemapura is mentioned another place, well-known for the festival. Hundreds of town-girls are said to have gathered around the banner erected in honour of Indra, carrying oblations, flowers and incense pots in hands, praying to the deity for good fortune.⁷ On such occasions people spent their time in eating, drinking, singing, dancing, merry-making and visiting friends and a pandemonium prevailed all over.⁸

¹ *Uttarā Vy*, 8, 136 People experiencing great joy at the sight of Indra's flag-staff is mentioned by Kālidāsa. The clouds are said to have poured the desired rain in the kingdom where this festival was celebrated, *Raghu*, 4 3, and Commentary, Agrawala, *Ancient Indian Folk Cults*, 53.

² *Nisī Cū*, 19 6065

³ *ibid*, 10, 2860, 5 2153-4

⁴ *KVLM*, 148, 11-12

⁵ *VH*, 221, 6-9, *The Vasudeva*, 407.

⁶ *Āva Cū*, 475

⁷ *Brh. Bha*, 4. 5153

⁸ *Nisī. Cū*, 19. 6068.

SKANDAMAHA (FESTIVAL OF SKANDA)

Unlike Indra, Skanda is a folk deity whose cult was spread among common people. He is called leader of demons of illness that attacks children; he is also god of burglars and thieves.¹ As stated earlier, the festival of Skanda was celebrated on the full moon day of Āśvina. It is stated that when Mahavira visited Śrāvastī the image of Skanda was being taken in a procession in a chariot.² The image of Skanda and Rudra were made of wood.³ An oil lamp was kept burning in front of the image during night. At times the burning wick of the lamp removed by mouse, or skaken by dog, caused fire to the wooden image.⁴ Skanda is known as Khaṇḍobā in Maharashtra; he is worshipped under *hayavāhana*, *manimalla*, *pañcānana* and other names at the time of the *ārati* of Svāmī Rāmdas.⁵ The Skanda cult was an obscure cult in the beginning but gradually after the Kushan period and during the Gupta age, it occupied an important place in religious worship.⁶

YAKṢAMAHA (FESTIVAL OF YAKṢA)

Yakṣa is considered among ancient deities. It is regarded as protector of villages and is worshipped by men of all castes and creeds believing that they will be protected from epidemics and other diseases. According to Jains, Yakṣa is a sub-division of the *vyantara* gods. They are: Piśāca, Bhūta, Yakṣa, Rākṣasa, Kīm-nara, Kīm-puruṣa, Mahoraga and Gandharva. We are told that by practising self-control one is reborn among Yakṣas.⁷

In Jainism though the Yaksas were not assigned a high status like a Tīrthaṅkara, they were installed as their guardian deities, and no Jain temple was considered safe without them. We come across Yakṣa statues with Jain images on their heads. We hear of Jināśekhara Yakṣa, who projected a pearl-image of himself with the image

¹ MW.

² Āva. Cū, 315.

³ Ibid, 115

⁴ Brh. Bha, 2, 3465-73

⁵ See R.C Dhere, *Khandoba* (In Marathi)

⁶ Agrawala, op cit., 96.

⁷ Uttarā. Sū., 3, 14f.

of Rṣabha on his crest.¹ The image of Pārśvanātha is noticed on the head of goddess Padmāvatī. As a matter of fact, each Tirthaṅkara has been assigned a Yakṣa on his right and Yakṣiṇī on his left; they are known as *sāsanadevatas* or attendant spirits.² It appears that in the beginning, the Yakṣas were attendants of their masters but later as the Yakṣa cult gained popularity, their independent images were installed as guardians of Jain temples.

Besides twenty-four Yakṣas, attendants of twenty-four Tirthaṅkaras, numerous other Yakṣas have been mentioned in Jain texts. They are: Pūrṇabhadra, Maṇibhadra, Śvetabhadra, Haritabhadra, Sumanobhadra, Vyatipātikabhadra, Subhadra, Sarvatobhadra, Maṇuṣyayakṣa, Vanādhipati, Vanāhāra, Rūpayakṣa and Yaśottama.³ The *Ovāṇiya* mentions a Caitya shrine of Pūrṇabhadra Yakṣa where all kinds of actors, dancers, rope-walkers, wrestlers, boxers, jesters, story-tellers and lute-players, assembled and people offered *pūjā* with flags, bells, peacock-feathers, fly-whisks, sandalwood paste, flowers, sweets, lamps and so on. The interior floor of the shrine was coated with cow-dung, its walls were white-washed and bore palm impressions in red sandalwood paste. It looked beautiful with festooned decorations on doorways and sandalwood pitchers. The floor was sprinkled with perfumed water and it was odorous with flowers of fine colours, black aloe-wood, oilbanum and other fragrant substances.⁴ Pūrṇabhadra and Maṇibhadra, the two Yakṣas seem to be quite popular in those days. We are told that during the ascetic life when Mahavira arrived at Campā, he was attended to by Pūrṇabhadra and Maṇibhadra.⁵

Mithilā is said to have a shrine of Maṇibhadra Yakṣa.⁶ It is said that in the outer garden of the city of Samīlā there was a shrine of Maṇibhadra. Once there was an outbreak of smallpox in the city and after it was subsided by the propitiation of the deity, the citizens were pleased to appoint a priest, who regularly worshipped the deity

¹KVLM, 120, 15-17

²For the list see Balchandra Jain, *Pratimāvijñāna*, Ch VII, Plates, IX-XXXII.

³See *Abhidhānarājendra*, under 'Jakkha'

⁴Sūtra, 2

⁵*Āśa Cū*, 320, also mentioned in *Panna*, 2 192, *Paumacariya*, LXII, 28-49 and *Nisī Cū*, 3, 229

⁶*Sūrya, Sū*

and cleaned the assembly-hall by smearing it with cow-dung.¹

Generally, Yakṣas are regarded benevolent and of inoffensive disposition, but they are occasionally classed with piśācas and other malignant spirits, causing sorrow. Numerous benevolent Yakṣas have been mentioned in ancient Jain texts. Bibhelaka Yakṣa used to attend on Mahavira during his ascetic life.² Śailaka Yakṣa, having assumed the form of a horse, rescued people from sea danger.³

Genditinduga Yakṣa of Tinduge garden at Vārāṇasī was another Yakṣa, who was a devotee of sage Mātanga and punished the princess Bhadrā for showing indignity towards the sage.⁴ The Yakṣas were placated for getting progeny and fulfilling other worldly desires. Bhadrā, the wife of a merchant, desirous of an offspring, waited upon the deities such as Nāga, Bhūta, Yakṣa, Indra, Skanda, Rudra, Śiva and Vaiśramaṇa, located outside the city of Rājagṛha.⁵ Gaṅga-dattā took plenty of clothes, flowers, garlands and ornaments and accompanied by her relatives and friends, visited the shrine of Uṃbaradatta. She cleaned the image of the deity with a peacock feather brush, washed it with water, wiped it with a soft woollen cloth and dressed it nicely. Then she worshipped the Yakṣa by offering flowers etc., praying to bless her with a child.⁶ Subhadrā, another woman, promised the Yakṣa Surambara to offer him *balli* of one hundred buffaloes provided a son was born to her.⁷ Haripagamiṣī was a popular deity related to procreation of children. He is said to have played an important role in the conception and birth legend of Mahavira by transferring him from the womb of a Brahman

¹*Pinḍa Nir.*, 245f. Pūrṇabhadra and Maṇibhadra, according to the *Mahāmāyūri*, were brothers and presiding deities of Brahmavati, Sylvan Levi, *The Geographical Contents of Mahāmāyūri*, translated by V.S. Agrawala, *UPHS*, XV, pt. II. Maṇibhadra is said to be one of the foremost among the Yakṣas and his command was next to Kubera. He was considered as the presiding deity of an auspicious jewel, known as *bhadramaṇi*, Agrawala, *Ancient Indian Folk Cults*, 190f.

²*Āva Nir.*, 487.

³*Nāya.*, 9, 127.

⁴*Uttara*, XII and *Vr.*, 173a.

⁵*Nāya.*, 2, 49f, *Āva Cū*, II, 164. The image of Vaiśramaṇa was consecrated just like a king. Later it was presented to an astrologer, *VH*, 316, 8-16.

⁶*Vivā.*, 7, 42f.

⁷*Āva. Ca.*, II, 193.

lady to the womb of a Ksatriyānī.¹ Mudgarapāṇi, Yakṣa of Rajagṛha was equipped with an iron mace. He is said to have entered the body of his devotee Arjunaka and killed the six debauchers together with Arjunaka's wife.² We are told in the *BKSS* that Vegavati, a vidyādhara maiden, promised to offer drink to a Yakṣa from her own hands provided her desire to become the wife of king Naravāhana-datta was realised.³ Bhaṇḍira was a popular Yakṣa of Mathura and a festival (*jattā*) was celebrated in his honour.⁴ A fight has been noted between the Yakṣa Asitākṣa and sovereign king Sanatkumāra.⁵ An image of Yakṣa Vaiśramana is said to have been destroyed by the stroke of Indra's thunderbolt.⁶

There were Yakṣas, who were evil-minded, caused trouble to the people and were satisfied after killing them. The Śūlapāṇi Yakṣa is said to have spread epidemics in a village which forced village people to abandon their native place. The Yakṣa was not satisfied until the people constructed his shrine on the bones of human beings.⁷ Surapriya was another Yakṣa of Sāketa. He was painted every year and killed the one who painted him.⁸ Black Yakṣas (*Kṛṣṇa Yakṣa*) have been mentioned. Kamsa instructed them to kill Kṛṣṇa, the leader of the Yādavas. The Yakṣas arrived at the cow-pen of Nanda and manifested donkeys, horses and bulls, who started harrassing people.⁹ Among other Yakṣas, the names of Lepyaka,¹⁰ Niddhamana,¹¹ Amoghadarśi,¹² Śvetabaddha,¹³ Soriya,¹⁴ Dharana,¹⁵ Lingalakṣa,¹⁶ Kāpardika,¹⁷ Śaṅkha¹⁸ and others have been mentioned. The north and east quarters were believed to be the haunting places of Yakṣas.¹⁹ The city of Ānandapura was said to have been an abode of Yakṣas.²⁰ In the country of Golla, a sickly person was not exposed owing to the fear of a Yakṣiṇī.²¹

¹ *Kalpa*, 2, 26. See *VH*, 97, 10-14, *The Vasudeva*, 159 fn. 2, 733f.

² *Anta*, 6.

³ *BKSS*, XII, 76f, cf. the similar account in the *VH*, *The Vasudeva*, 418.

⁴ *Āva Cū*, 281.

⁵ *Uttarā Vr*, 18, 237a.

⁶ *ibid*, 242.

⁷ *Āva Cū*, 172-4.

⁸ *ibid*, 67f.

⁹ *VH*, 369, 30-370, 2, *The Vasudeva*, 555.

¹⁰ *Āva Cū*, 466ff.

¹¹ *Nisī Cū*, 10, 3200.

¹² *Vivā*, 3, 20.

¹³ *ibid*, 5, 32.

¹⁴ *ibid*, 8, 45.

¹⁵ *ibid*, 8, 45.

¹⁶ *Kahārayanakosa*, 27a.

¹⁷ Tawney, *Kathākosā*, 2.

¹⁸ *ibid*, 74.

¹⁹ *Bṛh Bhā. Pt*, 456f, 4, 4962-4.

²⁰ *Ācā Cū*, 331.

²¹ *Bṛh Bhā*, 1, 2380, *Vīṣṇu Cū*,

The Yakṣas had their own hierarchy of high and low. The Ādambara Yakṣa, also known as Hiraṇḍikā Yakṣa, is said to have belonged to Mātangas, and the Ghaṇṭika Yakṣa to the Dombas. The shrine of Ādambara was built on the bones of recently dead human beings.¹ Ghaṇṭika is said to have whispered in the ear when questioned.²

BHUTAMAHA (FESTIVAL OF BHUTA)

Bhūtas are mentioned along with the Yakṣas, Rākṣasas and Piśācas. The festival of Bhūta, one of the four great festivals, was celebrated on the full moon day of Caitra as stated earlier. People obsessed by the evil spirit (Bhūta) were treated by demonologists. The offering (*balī*) was made to Bhūtas and soothing rites were performed. It is interesting that a Bhūta was considered a marketable commodity; it is said that during the reign of king Pradyota there were shops (*kuttiyāvana*)³ in Ujjeni and Rājagṛha where Bhūtas were sold. A merchant from Bhṛgukaccha is said to have purchased a Bhūta from Ujjeni and made him construct the 'Bhūtataḍāga' pond. Another merchant of Tosali is said to have purchased another Bhūta and made him construct the 'Isitaḍāga' pond.⁴ The Bhūtas are described as dancing with spear, Javelin, club and axe carrying in their hands. Their bodies were smeared with ashes, they wore the skin of a deer, their yellow hair were disshevelled, they were covered with a mantle of black serpents, a boa constrictor coiled around their necks, they had protuberant bellies and large faces; they wore ear-

¹ *Āva Cū*, II, 227f

² *Vya Bhā*, 7 313. *Āva Cū*, 229; *Bṛh Bhā*, 2 1312. This Yakṣa is mentioned in the *Vinayavastu* of Mūlasarvāstivāda, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, III, pt 2, p 12.

³ For the fenciful meaning of the word see *Bṛh Bhā Vṛ.*, 3 4214-22; Haribhadra, *Āva Tīkā.*, 413a. It was believed to be a shop where all sorts of commodities whether animate or inanimate were available. *Kuttiyāvana* or *Kautukikaśālā* conveys the meaning of a shop where curious articles are available.

⁴ *Isitaḍāga* is referred to in the Hāthigumpha Inscriptions of Kharavala, See *LAI*, 289, under 'Isitalāga.' Hsuan-Tsang while visiting Magadha in the early part of the seventh century AD had heard the legend that Emperor Ashoka commanded genn and spirits to raise Stūpas throughout India. The *Mahājūṭi-Mūlakaḷpa* describes how the Yakṣas in Ashoka's service erected thousands of monoliths and stūpas within half a night; Sukumar Dutt, *The Buddha and the Five After Centuries*, 171 and n

rings of an iguana, mouse, mongoose and lizard.¹ A ghost-house (*Bhūtagrha*) situated on the corner of a road is mentioned.² A forest known as *Bhūtaramana* (a place of sports for Bhūtas) has been referred to.³

NAGAMAHA (FESTIVAL OF NAGA)

In Hindu mythology, a Nāga or serpent-demon belongs to the race of Kadru or Surasā inhabiting the waters or the city of Bhogavatī under the earth. It is a cult of remote antiquity mentioned along with the worship of trees, ponds, Yakṣas and Bhūtas. Nāgas are represented as guarding fields and special portions of the earth, and have their dwellings in the ant-hills. Mathura has been mentioned a large centre of Nāga worship where a number of Nāga sculptures have been recovered. There was a Nāga-shrine built outside the city of Sāketa. The *yātrā* in honour of Nāga-deity was celebrated with pomp and ceremony. The shrine was believed to be divine, virtuous and full of miracles. A flower-house was prepared with a variety of beautiful flowers and huge garlands nearby. It was decorated with the paintings of swan, deer, peacock, curlew, bird, crane, cuckoo, and so on. The queen Padmāvatī had her bath in a lake, and with moist clothes on, plucked lotuses, and carrying various flowers, fruits and incense pot in hand, entered the shrine. He swept the image with a soft brush, burnt incense and worshipped the deity.⁴ We come across another Nāga-shrine in Kuśāgrapura, located in the vicinity of a royal road. It was equipped with a door, a lamp was suspended and it was infused with the burning of fragrant substances like black aloe-wood and incense. Nāgadattā with a basket in hand, accompanied by her attendants, entered the shrine and after washing her hands and feet, worshipped the deity.⁵ A Nāga-shrine was situated on the bank of the Varadā river. Under the pretext of paying homage to the Nāga-deity, Rukmīṇī visited the shrine and was kidnapped by Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva.⁶ We hear of princess Priyaṅ-

¹VH, 386, 4-7

²ibid, 144, 8. *The Vasudeva*, 270

³ibid, 84, 15, 323, 14, 326, 5, 335, 25

⁴*Nāḍā*, 8, 95f

⁵VH, 65, 13-19

⁶ibid, 80, 29-81, 7

gusundarī, who went to offer *bali* to the Nāga-shrine and got Vasudeva married by *gandharva* rite.¹ A Nāga statue in a Nāga temple in Sāketa has been mentioned.² A festival in honour of Nāgavāna is referred to in the *BKSS*.³

In Jain tradition, king Bhagīratha, the grandson of the sovereign king Bharata, is said to have been the founder of *Nāgabali*. It has been stated that when the dwellings of the Nāgas were disturbed, Jvalanaprabha (flaming-splendour), the king of the Nāgas, was very much annoyed and by his poisoned eyes burnt the sons of the sovereign King Sagara to ashes. Then in order to pacify the king of the Nāgas, Bhagīratha visited the *Aṣṭāpada* mountain and presented him a respectful offering consisting of garlands, perfumes and incense. From that time onwards people started offering *bali* to the Nāgas.⁴ Dharanendra was another powerful king of the Nāgas. Pleased with the service of the *Vidyādharas*, rendered to God Rṣabha, he bestowed upon them numerous magic arts. He is depicted as moral authority for the acts of omissions and commissions on the part of the *vidyādharas*. A miraculous image of Dharanendra was installed in the lawcourt of *vidyādharas*, and a person interfering with the legal proceedings, was punished. His image was also installed in the cities of *vidyādharas* and the assembly-halls, Allā, Akkā, Saterā (Śaterā), Soyāmaṇī (Saudāminī), Indā (Indrā) and Ghanaviṣṭyujā (Ghanavidyutā) are said to be the chief queens of Dharanendra. Dharana is highly respected among Jains and it is said that he is going to be reborn as a future Tīrthaṅkara in the descending age.⁵

¹ibid, 307, 7-10, *The Vasudeva*, 504f For Serpent worship, including the snake-shrines and cure of snake-bite, see W. Crook, *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, II, 121-145

²*TSP*, V, 55. Nāga Statue is also mentioned in the *Arthasāstra*, 5, 2. 90, 49.

³VII, 57, VIII, 25.

⁴*Uttarā. Vr.*, 18, 234a ff.

⁵*VH*, 303, 6-305, 26, *The Vasudeva*, 29ff, 33f, 117, 123, 127ff Also read story 78 in the *BKK* In Merutuṅga's *Prabandhacintāmaṇī* (p. 311) Dharanendra, the king of Pātāla, cures Jain *ācārya* Abhayasūri by licking his body with his tongue. Afterwards he shows the *ācārya* the Stambhanaka, the holy place of Pīrāva. In the *Kathākosā* (p. 184) Dharanendra saves king Cēṭaka when he fell into a well holding an image of Jina; Bloomfield, *The Life and Stories*, Introduction, 22

OTHER FOLK-DEITIES OF ANTIQUITY

The abode of a Yakṣa is often referred to as *caitya* (*celiya* in Ardhamagadhi) or *āyatana* in ancient Jain texts. Later, *caitya* seems to have signified an image of a deity.¹ Mahavira and Buddha used these shrines as their halting places. As in every village there was a *caitya*-tree so every village had its Yakṣa-shrine, or Yakṣa-*Caitya*. We have already referred to the shrine of Pūrṇabhadra in Campā. Similarly there was a shrine of Guṇaśila in Rājagṛha,² of Ambaśāla-vana in Āmalakappā,³ of Dyutipalāśa, presided by Sudharma Yakṣa, in Vāṇiyagāma,⁴ of Bhaṇḍira, presided by Sudarśana Yakṣa, in Mathura,⁵ and the shrine of Vardhamāna, presided by Maṇibhadra Yakṣa, in Vardhamānapura.⁶ These shrines were located in a garden outside the city, on a hilltop, in the vicinity of a pond, near city-gate or inside the city. We hear of a Yakṣa-cave (*jakkhaguhā*) in Mathura where *ācārya* Āryarakṣita had sojourned.⁷ We read about a Yakṣa-house (*Yakṣa-bhuvana*) located in the Vindhya mountain.⁸

In Jain tradition, each Tirthaṅkara is provided with a holy tree, under which he attained omniscience, these trees are called as *aśoka* (causing no sorrow) trees.⁹ In ancient Jain texts the eight *vyantara* gods have been assigned the following *caitya*-trees 1. Piśāca; *kadamba* (a tree with orange-coloured fragrant blossoms), 2. Yakṣa: *vaṭa* (banyan tree), 3. Bhūta: *tulasī* (holy basil), 4. Rākṣasa: *kandaka* (reed), 5. Kimpnara: *aśoka* (a tree of moderate size belonging to the leguminous class with magnificent flowers), 6. Kimpuruṣa: *campaka* (*Michelia Campaka*, bearing a yellow fragrant flower), 7. Mahoraga: *nāga* tree, 8. Gandharva: *tinduka* (*Diospyros embryopteris*)¹⁰

¹*Viyāha*, Commentary, *utthāna*, p. 7 ²*Nāyā*, 1, 32 ³*Rāyapaseṇiya*, 1-2

⁴*Vivā*, 2, 12 ⁵*Ibid*, 6, 35 ⁶*Ibid*, 10, 56

⁷*Abhidhānarājendra*, under '*jakkhaguhā*'

⁸*Kaḥārayana*, 127a

⁹*Yatirṣabha*, *Tiloyapannatti*, 4 916-18, Balchandra, *Pratimāvivādhāna*, 40

¹⁰*Thā*, 8.654 The following *caitya*-trees have been assigned to Bhavanavāsī gods *aśvattha*, *saptaparṇa*, *śāmalī*, *udumbara*, *śirīṣa*, *dadhīparṇa*, *vañjula*, *palāśa*, *vapa* and *karnikāra*, *ibid*, 10, p. 461a. Buddha attained enlightenment under *aśvattha* (*Ficus Religiosa*) tree In the *Atharvaveda* it is called a seat of gods (*devāsana*) The tree-cult in India takes various forms. See N. Chaudhuri's article 'Prehistoric Tree Cult,' *IHQ*, XIX, 1943, Sukumar Dutt, *op. cit*, 41 and n.

We are told of the festival in honour of *caitya*, celebrated on the day of moonlight festivity (*kaumudikā cāturmāsi*) in the Aṅgaman-dira garden of Campā.¹ The *samavaśarana* (descent of Jina from heaven to earth) of a Tirthaṅkara is believed to be furnished with a lofty banner, marked with the lion and the wheel, with a religious wheel like the halo of a newly-risen sun; the sky being decorated with an umbrella over umbrellas, the fly-whisks waiving in the sky, and it looked beautiful with a charming sacred tree (*caitya-pādapa*).² The festival in honour of the *caitya*-tree (*caityamaha*) is mentioned in the *Rāyapaseṇiya*.³ This custom seems to have been a part of folk-cult of pond, tank, river, sea and so on. The festival of garden (*udyānamaha*) was associated with the festival of tree. It has been mentioned along with the festival of mountain (*parvatamaha*) in the *Nāyādhammakahāo*. The festival of garden was celebrated in the spring season. In order to participate in this festival people visited the garden with lot of eatables and drink. They sang songs, danced, recited erotic poetry, performed dramas and passed time amidst the beating of musical instruments. Women too participated, they enjoyed rocking in a swing.⁴ Among other festivals, the festivals of pond (*saramaha*), tank (*taḍāga*), mountain (*parvata*), cave (*giri*) and ocean (*sāgara*) are mentioned. On the occasion of the festival of great pond (*mahāsara*) dances were performed by beautiful girls and pleasant songs were sung.⁵ The festival of hill (*girimaha*) was associated with pastoral life as said earlier. The *giriyañña* festival was celebrated in the rainy season in Konkāṇa as well as in Lāṭa.⁶ *Sītāyañña*, a sacrifice offered to the furrow, was in vogue.⁷ House of prayers was built in honour of Sītā, a presiding deity of agriculture. The *sītāgrha* was a four-faced house built on four pillars; youths of low class assembled here and narrated stories.⁸

¹VH, 134, 7-8, *The Vasudeva*, 229

²ibid, 5, 1-3, *The Vasudeva*, 558

³Sū, 147

⁴VH, 46, 19-23, *The Vasudeva*, 609, *Brh. Bhā.*, 1. 3170f.

⁵VH, 155, 25-30, *The Vasudeva*, 312, VH, 156, 23, *The Vasudeva*, 316.

⁶*Brh. Bhā.*, 1.2856.

⁷ibid, 1.3647. Sītā was evoked along with other female deities at the rituals concerning the furrowing, thrashing, sowing, reaping and putting the corn into the barn, *Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra*, IV, 4. 27, *Lokāyata*, 271.

⁸*Taraṅgalolā*, 115f.

Among other cults, the cult of the guardian of a quarter of the sky (*disādevatā*), the household-deity (*grhadevatā*) and the town-deity (*nagaradevatā*) were popular. Before setting on for a journey, people used to pay homage to the guardian of four quarters.¹ *Disāpokkhiyas* were the followers of this cult. We are told of king of Potanapura, who joined the order of *Disāpokkhiyas* along with his queen and the maid-servant. The royal sage of Hastināpura, after joining the order, sprinkled the four quarters and propitiated Soma, Yama, Varuna and Vaiśramaṇa and worshipped them.² Feast was celebrated in honour of the town-deity (*kabbadadevatā*). The prostitute Vasantatilakā invited her girl-friends and her fellow-prostitutes with their daughters on the occasion and worshipped the deity with incense, flowers and garlands.³

The festival of Āryā and Koṭṭakiriyā is mentioned. The same goddess while standing like Kūsmāṇḍinī is called Āryā, and while riding the buffalo demon, is called Koṭṭakiriyā.⁴ The goddess Mahiṣasuramardini and Koṭṭakiriyā seemed to have belonged to the same family whose worship was popular among aboriginal tribes. Women offered *baḷi* to Koṭṭakiriyā wishing their son-in-law a happy return from pilgrimage.⁵ The goddess is also known as Cāṇḍikā, Cāmunḍā or Kātyāyini. People paid homage to Cāmunḍā while going to the battlefield.⁶ They tried to propitiate the deity by sacrificing goat, buffalo or a human being or cattle heads.⁷ The abode of Kātyāyānī is mentioned.⁸ Oblations were offered to the deity by husband and wife at the end of the rainy season.⁹ It was believed that the favour of the goddess led to success in endeavours, victory in battles, acquiring wealth and all kinds of happi-

¹VH, 42, 15

²ibid, 17, 25, *The Vasudeva*, 573 and n. 13.

³VH, 33, 22-6, *The Vasudeva*, 592

⁴*Nāyā*, 8, 100 and Commentary.

⁵*Nisī Cū*, 13.4400.

⁶*Piṇḍa Nir*, 441 Commentary.

⁷*Ācā Cū*, 61, *Panḥa*, 7, 37 It was known as Durgā, Vindhya-Vāsini or Cāṇḍamārī. The Image of Durgā was installed which looked terrifying with a dreadful frown. It was worshipped in the country of Yaudheya, *BKK*, 71 8-9, 73 241-44 For the origin of Durgā worship in Jain tradition, see ibid, 106. 248-58

⁸*Taraṅgalolā*, 927, *Pāsāṇhacarīya*, 4, 250

⁹*Taraṅgalolā*, 990

ness.¹ She was considered the goddess of hunters, who, before going on a hunt, paid her homage.² Kātyayanī is represented as stepping on buffalo felled with a trident. In order to win her favour, the devotees sacrificed their head.³

Besides, the festival of maid-servants (*dāsīmaha*),⁴ the festival of Mlecchas (*bahumlecchamaha*),⁵ the festival in honour of a guest (*sthānupātika*),⁶ and the festival on noddles (*iṣṭakā*)⁷ have been mentioned.

¹ibid, 1011.

²ibid, 1396.

³KVLM, 13, 6

⁴Uttara Vṛ, 8, 124.

⁵Nisī. Cū., 12 4139

⁶Bṛh. Bha., 1. 1614.

⁷Pṛṇḍa, Nir, 466, Nisī. Cū, 13 4446.

CHAPTER 6

Secular Prakrit Works

As noted above, in order to make their teachings popular, Jain monks exploited the sentiments of the masses. As they came into contact with the people outside the land of Magadha, they had to observe the local customs and practices, otherwise how could their religion flourish in the region? Consequently, they had to incorporate popular motifs and tale-types, myths and legends, popular deities, magical practices, beliefs in spirits and ghosts and omens and superstitions in their narratives. Jains did not stop at that, they also composed valuable treatises on popular topics such as astrology, palmistry, omens, alchemy, music, archery, politics, testing of precious stones, coins, cooking, training of elephants and horses, and birds and animals. Here is a brief survey of some of the valuable secular Prakrit works composed by Jains. Many of them are not available and many more are lying in Jain Bhandaras awaiting publication.

Atthasattha (*Arthaśāstra*) or *Kauṭilya* or *Cānakya-Kauṭilya*¹ is classified as a popular scripture in the *Nandisūtra* along with the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyana*, the *Vaiśika*, *Buddhaśāsana*, *Kapila*, *Lokāyata*, *Pātañjali* and so on.² The *Atthasattha* has been referred to in several Jain texts. The *Vasudevahindī* (c. 3rd century AD) quotes a statement from this work saying, "Particularly, growing enemy should be conquered by employing deceit, or he should be killed by weapon."³ Further, *Droṇācārya* (12th century AD) in his commentary of the *Ogha Nirvyukti* cites a quotation from *Cānakya*, saying "It is no fault if one does not evacuate excrement and

¹*Sūya Cū*, 208.

²42, 193a, *Anu*, 40f, *Nisī Cū*, 11. 10

³45, 25f, *The Vasudeva*, 607f.

urine."¹ Then, Nemicandragani in his *Taraṅgalolā*, based on Pādalipta's *Taraṅgavaikahā*, quotes a few Prakrit verses from the *Atthasattha*, saying "A secret is disclosed if it goes to a female messenger."² Haribhadrāsūri in his *Dhuttakkhāna* has mentioned Khaṇḍapāpā as an authoress of the *Atthasattha*.³ All this goes to show that there existed a Prakrit work called *Atthasattha* which unfortunately is not available now. As Cāpakya had composed the *Arthaśāstra* for the guidance of king Chandragupta, so did Somadeva his *Nītvākyāmṛta* for king Mahendra, and Hemacandra his *Laghu-Arhanṇī* for king Kumārapāla of Gujarat. The composition of these texts indicates that Jains did not oppose militarism and favoured war if absolutely essential. We come across a number of Jain rulers, who fought, conquered and established their reign.

Kāmasāstra or *treatise on pleasures or sexual love*: It has been pointed out that in order to make their sermons fascinating, Jain authors incorporated erotic tales in their writings. We have seen how the author of the *Jivakacintāmaṇi* for narrating amorous love in his composition, was put to test by picking up a burning charcoal. Jain works provide us a portray of amorous love, enjoyment of sexual pleasures and the passionate love scenes which show that Jains did not lag behind in writing erotic literature. The *Madanakāmaratna* and the *Haramekhālā* have been referred to as treatises on sexual love. The former is composed in verses and is said to have written by Pūjyāpāda;⁴ the latter has been referred to as a treatise on subjugating by means of spells etc., by Abhayadeva in his commentary on the *Samavāyāṅga*.⁵

Vaiśika or *the art of courtesans*: It is one of the fine arts in which courtesans were well-versed. In order to learn this art, youngmen approached them from far and near. It is said that Dattaka or Dattavaiśika⁶ has composed this treatise for the sake of courtesans of Pāṭalīputra. Once a courtesan tried to seduce Dattaka by employing various charms described in the *Vaiśika*, but without success. Thereupon being disappointed, she threatened to burn herself in the fire. Dattaka reflected in his mind that such a wonderful trick must

¹p. 152. ²853. ³Story 5.

⁴See *JSBI*, V, 227. ⁵29.

⁶Dattaka is mentioned as an author of the *Vaiśika* in the *Kuṣṇīnīmata* (504) of Damodara. The *Kāmasāstra* of Vātsyāyana contains a chapter on *Vaiśika*.

have been mentioned in the *Vaiṣika*. The fire was set to the fire-wood piled at the eastern side of the underground hole. The courtesan entered into it and came out of the other side of the hole. In the meantime, Dattaka was caught and thrown into the fire but still he refused to believe the courtesans.¹ There is a similar story about Aśoka, who though made a thorough study of courtesans, was cheated by Kāmalatā by playing a trick on him of pretended death.² The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga Cūrṇi* has quoted a Sanskrit verse from the *Vaiṣikatantra* "The mind of woman is difficult to conceive."³

Ausattha (*Āyusāstra*) or *Veṇṇasattha* (*Vaidyaśāstra*) or *Āyurveda*: the science of medicine Though the science of medicine along with the science of portents, the science of omens, the science of magic and spells etc., is included among evil scriptures (*pāpaśruta*),⁴ yet for practical purposes it could not be ignored. Various branches of the science of medicine have been mentioned in Jain canonical literature. The *Ācārāṅga* mentions sixteen types of diseases. Eighteen kinds of leprosy has been referred to.⁵ If a Jain monk suffered from an advanced and incurable leprosy when the fingers and toes fall off (*galita-kuṣṭha*) or scab (*kacchū*) or leprosy with irritating sensation in the skin (*kṛībha*),⁶ he was made to sleep on hairless skin.⁷ If he suffered from a mild leprosy known as *pāmā*, the droppings of a ram and cow urine were used to cure the disease.⁸ If he happened to suffer from leprosy full of maggots (*kṛmī-kuṣṭha*), he was taken special care of. Some medicinal oil was applied to the affected portion so that the pore of the skin was filled with the oil causing the maggots to agitate. These maggots adhered to the blanket with which the patient was covered. Then the sandalwood paste was applied to the affected part.⁹ Thus we come across valuable

¹*Sūya*, Commentary, 4.1.24

²*Kumāra*, I, 83-92.

³p. 140 *durvijñeya hi bhāvaḥ pramadānām*. *Vaiṣika* is mentioned in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, *Mṛcchakaṭika*, *Sṛṅgaramaṇjarī*, *Lalitavistara*, see *Jain Agam*, 275n.

⁴*Thā*, 9.7.78, *Sūya*, 2.2.30.

⁵See 6.1.173, *Vivā*, 1.7, *Nisī Bhā*, 11.3646, *Uttarā. Sā.*, 10.27.

⁶It has been defined as 'secretion of black semi-fluid matter from the affected portion such as the thigh etc., *Nisī. Cā*, 1.798

⁷*Bṛh Bhā*, 3.3839-40

⁸*Ogha Nir*, 368, 134a

⁹*VH*, 177, 13-21

information with regard to various diseases, their cause and their treatment in ancient Jain texts which shows that Jain writers had good knowledge of medical science.¹

Rukkhāruveya (*Vṛkṣāyurveda*) or the art of planting or cultivating trees: By this art one could make a garden flourish by growing all kinds of flowers and fruits.² According to the *BKŚS*, by employing this art one could make the health-promoting cooking utensils out of the tree wood.³ Dāmodara Gupta refers to the *Vṛkṣāyurveda* in his *Kuṭṭhinimata* (124). The *Pārijātamañjarī* text inscribed at Dhara (Ep. Ind., VIII) mentions 'citrāprayoga' denoting the technique of getting different flowers on different trees.⁴ *Vṛkṣāyurveda* is mentioned as a short treatise composed by Surapāla. The *Vṛkṣacikitsā-ropanādi* was still another work on the subject.⁵ Various Prakrit and Sanskrit treatises on Āyurveda have been mentioned:

1. *Puspāyurveda* by Samantabhadra. It deals with 1800 kinds of flowers. It is not available.

2. *Jagatsundarī-prayogamālā* by Yaksakīrti Munī. It is composed in Prakrit verses, interspersed with Sanskrit and Old Hindi prose. The Bhandarkar Oriental Institute has its manuscript.

3. *Kalyānakāraka* by Pūjyapāda. It is not available.

4. *Nāḍīparīkṣā* by Pūjyapāda. It is mentioned in the *Jinaratnakosa*.

5. *Kalyānakāraka* by Ugrāditya. According to the author, it is an abridged form of the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha* by Samantabhadra.

6. *Rasacintāmaṇi* by Anantadevasūri. It is not available.

7. *Nighaṇṭukosa* by Amṛtanandi. It contains an exposition of 22,000 medical words.

8. *Aṣṭāṅgahr̥daya-vṛtti* by Āśādhara. It is a commentary on the *Aṣṭāṅgahr̥daya* of Vāgbhaṭṭa. Peterson has recorded it among the works of Āśādhara.⁶

Dhanurveya (*Dhanurveda*) or *Āuhaveda* (*Āyudhaveda*) or Archery: *Dhanurveda* or *I attha* (*Iśvastra*) is included among seventy-two arts. The art of archery was highly advanced in ancient India and in

¹See LAI, 178-181, *Jain Āgam.*, 307-318.

²VH, 50, 27f, *The Vasudeva*, 615

³5 225

⁴See V.S. Agrawala, *Bṛhatkathāślokaśaṅgraha—A Study*, 309n.

⁵MW.

⁶See JSBI, V, 226-236.

order to show valour, one had to prove one's skill in the art. It has been stated that formerly, people were good-natured and modest and hence the use of weapon was not required. In course of time, the sovereign King Bharata promulgated the use of weapon, and this is said to be the beginning of archery.¹ Various positions² and movements in archery³ have been mentioned in Prakrit Jain texts. It was compulsory for princes to acquire efficiency in this art. We come across various kings and rulers, who with the skill in archery, won the battle and established their kingdom. There were also monks, who before taking to monkhood, were skilled in the science of the bow and arrow, and under extreme conditions, in order to protect the *sangha*, had to fight the oppressor.⁴ In the *svayamvara*-marriage, the contestants had to prove their skill by shooting the effigy as required.⁵ *Dhanurmaha* is mentioned as a special festival in Hindu mythology when bowmen gave demonstration to their skill in archery.⁶

Gandhavyaveda (Gandharvaveda) or the science of music: Music was popular amongst all sections of society. At the time of worshipping Tirthankaras, musical instruments were played and dances performed. The Jain texts display the wide knowledge of music, dance and drama. In thirty-two types of dance-drama, the actors and actresses are said to have dramatised the life-story of Mahavira, covering his previous life, his conception, childhood, youth, sexual sports, renunciation, penance, attainment of perfect knowledge, propagation of the message and final beatitude.⁷ Gandharvadattā was expert in playing *vīṇā*. In order to get her married a competition was held in Campā in which the contestants participated from all over and demonstrated their skill. The *gandharvas* are believed to be celestial singers inhabiting in heaven. They are Tumburu, Nārada, Hāhā, Hūhū and Viśvasu, who are known for their delightful songs.⁸

¹VH, 202, 5-12, *The Vasudeva*, 353-54

²For different positions such as *ālīḍha*, *pratyālīḍha*, *śimhāsana* and *Maṇḍalāvarta*, see *Kaṭhakośaprakaraṇa*, p. 24, *The Vasudeva*, 736

³See VH, 36, 26-30, 38, 11-12, *The Vasudeva*, 596, 597.

⁴*Bṛh Bhā*, 1 3014

⁵See *Uttarā Vr*, 3, 65a, *LAI*, 181f

⁶See Agrawala, *Ancient Indian Folk Cults*, 39-42.

⁷*Rāya*, 66-84

⁸VH, 130, 21-22, *The Vasudeva*, 665f

Homage is paid to Tumburu and Nārāyaṇa at the beginning of training of playing musical instruments.¹

We are told of Citta and Sambhūta, the two Mātāṅga boys, who were versed in the art of singing and dancing. Once a festival was celebrated in honour of Kāmadeva in Vārāṇasī when the two boys passed through the city singing and dancing with their troupe.² Udayana is mentioned as a great musician who could bring an excited elephant under control. He was requested by king Pradyota of Ujjeni to train the princess Vāsavadattā in the art of music.³ King Udrāyana is said to have been another musician who played the Vīṇā while his queen danced.⁴ It is stated that the full description of seven notes (*svara*) and eleven rhetorics (*alaṅkāra*) was provided in the *Svaraprābhṛta*, one of the fourteen *Pūrvas*. The *Ṭhānāṅga* provides information about seven *svaras*, their place of origin, the birds and beasts and the musical instruments which gave rise to these notes, the advantages resulting from uttering the notes, three gamuts (*grāma*), twenty-one intonations (*mūrchanā*), virtues and defects of singing and so on.⁵ The *Anuyogadvāra Cūṛṇi* has quoted three Prakrit verses from an unknown work which indicates that there existed a Prakrit treatise on music.⁶ The following works on music can be noted:

1. *Saṅgītasamayāsāra* by Pārśvacandra.
2. *Saṅgītopaniṣat* by Sudhākalaśa, not available.
3. *Saṅgītopaniṣatsāroddhāra* by Sudhākalaśa.
4. *Saṅgītamandana* by Maṇḍana. He was a minister of Sultan Alamshah of Māṇḍavagaṛh in Malwa.
5. *Saṅgītaḍīpikā*.
6. *Saṅgītaratnāvalī*.
7. *Saṅgītasahapīṅgala*.

The last three works are mentioned in the *Jain Granthāvalī*.⁷

Personal Hygiene and Toilet. Rules were laid down to attend to personal hygiene and toilet which included the knowledge of wearing the silver and gold ornaments, preparation of powder (*cunnajutti*),

¹VH, 127, 10, *The Vasudeva*, 214

²Uttarā. Vr., 13, 166

³Āva Cū, II, 161.

⁴Uttarā Vr., 18, 253

⁵7 553, *Jīvā*, Commentary, 3, 193a f, *Anu*, 127; *LAI*, 182-186.

⁶p 45.

⁷JSBI, V, 156-58.

means of improving the complexion of damsels and so on.¹ The following treatises can be mentioned:

Pupphajonisattha (*Puṣpayoniśāstra*): It dealt with the budding of flowers.²

Gandhajuttisattha (*Gandhayuktiśāstra*): It dealt with the preparations of blending fragrant substances.³ The *Gandhayukti* is mentioned in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* and the *Lalitavistara*.⁴ The *Gandhaśāstra* has been referred to in the *BKŚS*.⁵ P.K. Gode has referred to a rare manuscript of the *Gandhavāda* and its Marathi commentary between 1350-1550 AD.⁶

Nimittaśāstra or science of prognostication or an indication what is to happen by signs or symbols. It is believed to be a branch of *śrutajñāna* (scriptural knowledge) which was quite popular among Jain monks. By employing *nimitta* one could predict profit or loss, happiness or sorrow, life and death in the past, present and future.⁷ Maṅkhalī Gośālā, a Tīrthankara of Ājīvaka sect, is said to have been well-versed in the eightfold branches of *Mahānimitta*. It is stated that *ācārya* Kālaka deputed his disciples to him for getting training. Kālaka, who himself was well-versed in *nimitta*, is said to have given demonstration of his knowledge before King Sātavāhana of Pratiṣṭhānapura. Bhadrabāhu was another Jain monk, who is said to have acquired the knowledge of *nimittaśāstra*. It is stated that in order to avert the trouble of the *saṅgha* from a *vyantara* god,⁸ he composed the *Upasarga-harastotra*. *Ācārya* Dharasena is said to have possessed the knowledge of eightfold branches of *Mahānimitta*.⁹ It is stated that Mahavīra himself had preached the knowledge of *nimitta* to his disciples, but in course of time when Jain monks tried to misuse it, its practice was prohibited. *Nimitta* is included among eight evil scriptures as stated above.

Nimitta is counted among seventy-two and sixty-four arts. They are *nimitta*, *mantra*, *yoga*, black magic, *añjana*, *dhātuvāda*, *yakṣiṇī*-

¹See LAI, 172f

²Tarangalolā, 152

³ibid, ⁴See LAI, 172f

⁵X, 96, 19-73

⁶Studies in Indian Literature History, I

⁷KVLM, 268, 24.

⁸LAI, 226

⁹Dhavalā, Commentary on the *Śaṅkhaṇḍagāma*, I, after PSI, 273.

siddhi, military science, *yogamālā*, *jyotiṣa*, *rasabandha*, *rasāyana*, *patracchedya* and so on.¹

Aṣṭāṅgamahānimitta or eightfold branches of *Nimitta* are as follows:

(i) *Aṅga* or movements of limbs of the body: The *Āṅgavijjā* is a very important work dealing with *aṅga* or the science of prognostication. It is replete with cultural and social material hitherto not known to indologists.² Here the *aṅga* is given prominence to other branches of *nimitta*.³ *Aṅga* is used here in a wider sense indicating the knowledge of victory and defeat, death of a king, health, apprehension from king, calamity, gain and loss, happiness and sorrow, life and death, abundant supply of food and famine, rain and draught and the like.⁴ Nemicandrasūri in his commentary of the *Uttarādhyayana* has quoted Prakrit verses related to *aṅga*.⁵

(ii) *Svara* or notes of birds or the seven notes of music: Nemicandrasūri in his *Uttarādhyayana* commentary⁶ and Abhayadeva in his *Thāṇaṅga* commentary⁷ have quoted Prakrit verses related to *svara*.

(iii) *Lakṣaṇa* or the science of interpreting bodily signs: It has been elaborately described in 37th chapter of the *Āṅgavijjā*. Here the bodily signs have been classified under twelve categories: colour, sound, movement, place, collective body, length measure, weight measure, power, shape, progress, shadow and riches. Udyotanasūri in his *Kuvalayamālā* has described *samudra-śāstra* or *sāmudrika* as an offshoot of *Lakṣaṇa*. In brief it has been described only in one verse in Sanskrit, and the details are provided in numerous verses in Prakrit.⁸ Nemicandrasūri in his *Uttarādhyayana* commentary has cited 18 verses in Sanskrit⁹ and one verse in Prakrit¹⁰ related to the

¹KVLM, 245, 7-10

²Edited by Muni Punyavijayaji with English introduction by Moti Chandra and Hindi bhūmikā by V S Agrawala

³60.265

⁴7.

⁵15.7, 130-131

⁶ibid, 215a f.

⁷8.608, p. 405

⁸See 116, 9f., 129, 3-131, 23.

⁹8.13, 129.

¹⁰15.7, 216.

subject. Maladhāri Hemacandra in his *Upadeśamālāprakaraṇa* discusses the characteristics of men and women.¹ Bhāvaśāstri ex-pounds the codes of *sāmudrikāśāstra*² in his *Pārśvanāthacarita*.

A few Prakrit and Sanskrit works on the subject can be noted below:

1. *Karalakkhaṇa*: It is in Prakrit. Author unknown. It has been published by the Bhāratiya Jñānapeeth.

2. *Sāmudrika*: Its manuscript is in the Patan Jain Bhandara.

3. *Sāmudrikatilaka* by Durlabharāja. Not published.

4. *Sāmudrikāśāstra*. Author unknown. Unpublished.

5. *Hastasaṃjīvana* or *Siddhāñjana* by Upadhyaya Meghavijaya-gaṇi Published.

6. *Āṅgavidyāśāstra*: Author unknown. Published.³

(iv) *Vyañjana lakṣanas* are the signs or auspicious marks noticed from the birth, whereas *vyañjanas* are the marks of distinction such as moles, black spots etc, which appear later in life. The ordinary human beings are said to have possessed 32 marks, the Baladevas and Vāsudevas 800 and in the case of Tirthaṅkaras and Cakravartins the number goes upto 8,000.⁴ The *Āṅgaviṃśā* deals with the subject-matter where the moles and peculiarities of the body are described and how results could be prognosticated from them.⁵

(v) *Svapna* There was a treatise on dream known as *svapnaśāstra*. The *Viyādhapannatti* has devoted a section on dreams.⁶ The details about the auspicious and inauspicious dreams have been mentioned in the *Āṅgaviṃśā*.⁷ Nemicandrasūri has quoted verses on dreams in Prakrit in his *Uttarādhyayana* commentary.⁸

The following Prakrit works on the subject can be mentioned:

1. *Sumiṇasattarīya* Author unknown; unpublished.

2. *Suminaviyāra* by Jinapālagaṇi, unpublished.

¹*Indriya-jaya-śataka*, after PSI, 517

²7 595-630, Bloomfield, *The Life and Story*, 158

³JSBI, V, 218

⁴*Nisī Cū*, 13.4292

⁵Ch 38.

⁶16.6

⁷Ch 42

⁸13, 129f These verses have been compared by J. Charpentier with those of the *Svapnacintāmaṇi* by Jagaddeva, *Uttarā*, Notes, 310f

3. *Suvināḍāra*: Manuscript in the Patan Jain Bhaṇḍar.¹

(vi) *Chinna on rending of clothes*: It provided favourable and unfavourable prediction after seeing a piece of cloth soiled by black pigment, lampblack or dirt, or gnawed by rats or burnt by fire or cut through or torn at the borders.²

(vii) *Bhāuma or related to earth*: an earthquake.

(viii) *Antarikṣa or related to sky*: Various colours and forms of the sky resulting from some unnatural phenomena.³

About the last two branches, Abhayadeva has quoted Sanskrit verses in his commentary on the *Thāṇaṅga*.⁴

The following works can be mentioned on *nimitta*:

1. *Karmapravāḍapūrvā* is one of the fourteen *Purvas* According to the *Daśāśrutaskandha Cūrni*, it dealt with eight *mahānimittas*.⁵

2. *Dṛṣṭivāda* is the twelfth lost Aṅga of the Jain Canon. It contained the knowledge of *nimitta* preached by Mahavira to his *ganadharas*.⁶

3. Some Prakrit verses under the authorship of Bhadrabāhu are quoted by Upādhyaya Meghavijaya in his *Varṣaprabodha*.⁷

4. *Commentary literature on the Aṣṭāṅgamahānimitta*: It has been stated that there existed the *Sūtra*, the *Vṛtti* and the *Vārtikā* on the eight branches of *Nimitta*, where a detailed exposition was provided on the subject.⁸

Some more works can be taken note of on the subject:

1. *Jayapāhuda*: The author is unknown. It is said to have been preached by Jina (*Jinabhāṣita*). It was composed before the 10th century AD published in the Singh Series.

2. *Cūḍāmani*: It was an important work on *nimitta*. It has been referred to in the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya*,⁹ Gunacandraṇi's *Kahārāyaṇa-*

¹PSI, 679; JSBI, V, 209.

²Bṛh. Bhā., 1 2630f, Charpentier, *Uttarā*, 336.

³For details see *Āṅgaviḷḷā*, 1, 1, *Thā*, 8.608, *Sūya*, 12 9, *Uttarā Sū*, 15.7, *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, *Dhavalā*, Commentary, IX, 72, (1949), *Sama*, Commentary, 29, 47, *Plṇḍa Nir*, Commentary, 408, *Āva*, TI, (Haribhadra), 660.

⁴p 404a.

⁵PSI, 247.

⁶*Āṅgaviḷḷā*, 1.1

⁷JSBI, V, 172, 179.

⁸Abhayadeva, *Sama*, Commentary, 29, 40.

⁹l. 1313.

kosa,¹ Abhayadeva's commentary on the *Ṭhāṇḍa*² and Lakṣmaṇa-agaṇi's *Supāsānāhacariya*.³ It is not available.

3. *Nimittapāhuda*: It has been referred to in Bharateśvara's *Kahāvali* and Śilāṅka's commentary on the *Sūyagaḍaṃ*.⁴

4. *Jonipāhuda* (*Yoniprabhṛta*): Like *Āṅgavijjā*, the *Jonipāhuda* is another important Prakrit work on the science of prognostication. It is acceptable to Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras both. It has been stated that *ācārya* Dharasena (between the 1st and 2nd century AD), who is known as *Prajñāśramaṇa*, had composed this work out of a portion of the *Agrāyanīpūrva*, one of the fourteen *Purvas*. He is said to have obtained it from the goddess Kūsmāṇḍinī and composed it for Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali, his two disciples.⁵ It has been stated, "the summit of Mount Meru might shake, and the current of the river Ganges might revert, but whatever is told in the *Jonipāhuda* will never be wrong."⁶ *Ācārya* Siddhasena is said to have created magical horses by following the instructions laid down in the *Jonipāhuda*. Buffaloes also could be created by pursuing these instructions.⁷ Among other animate objects, lions, serpents and fish have been mentioned. One could also produce gold and jewels,⁸ and it is said that following the instructions correctly a monk was able to trace the gold, deposited under ground at the time of accepting monkhood.⁹ Originally, this work is said to have contained 28,000 *gāthās*, but now has only 800. The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, has its manuscript.¹⁰

5. *Nimittaśāstra* by Rṣiputra; published.

6. *Riṣṭhasamuccaya* by Durgadeva. It is based on the *Maranaka-randīyā*, a work of ancient tradition. The author has discussed about

¹p 22a f ²428

², also *Pāsānāhacariya*, 4, 219

⁴PSI, 671

⁵See PSI, 673f

⁶KVLM, 197, 20

⁷Nisī. Cū., 4 1804, p 281, *Bṛh Bhā*, 1 2681

⁸See *Viśeṣāvatyaka*, *Bhāṣya*, 1775, Commentary by Hemacandrasūri, *Prabhā-vakacarita*, 5 115-127, *Vinodakathāsaṅgraha*, 46

⁹For explanation see *Vya Bhā*, 5 89, *Nisī. Cū*, 10 3066, p. 111, *Bṛh Bhā*, 11, 557-574, *Jain Āgam*, 314f

¹⁰For other references see PSI, 673f, *Bṛh Bhā*, 1 1303, *Paṇḍ. Bhā*, 44-46, 142; *Sūya*, Commentary, 8, 165.

the inauspicious signs indicating death. The work was completed in 1032 AD, and published in the Singhi Jain Series.

7. *Paṇḥavāgarāṇa*: Originally, the *Paṇḥavāgarāṇa*, the tenth *aṅga* of the canonical text, was quite different from the existing text available now. Its contents were different and it included the questions and their answers by a deity, appearing in a linen cloth, a mirror, a thumb or an arm.¹

8. *Paṇḥavāgarāṇa*: It is different from above. It contains 450 *gāthās*. A palm-leaf manuscript of the work is catalogued in the Patan Granth Bhandar. It has several commentaries. The work is unpublished.²

Here is another list of Prakrit works on *nimitta*:

1. *Sānaruya*: It deals with the prediction of future events by interpreting the barking of dogs. The manuscript is in the Patan Jain Bhandar.

2. *Uvasuidāra*: It deals with the prediction of future events by interpreting the words which have been uttered. Manuscript in the Patan Jain Bhandar.

3. *Chāyādāra*: Interpretation of events by seeing the shade. Manuscript in Patan Jain Bhandar.

4. *Nimittadāra*.

5. *Riṣṭhadāra*.

6. *Pipīliyānāṇa*.

7. *Pranaṣṭalābhādī*.

8. *Nāḍiviyāra*.

9. *Chīṅkavicāra*.

10. *Siddhapāhuda*.

11. *Vaggakevalī*.

12. *Meghamālā*, and so on.³

Joiśa or *Jyotiśa* or *Astrology* or *Astronomy*: Astrology was quite popular among Jains, who have written numerous treatises on the subject. Astrologers and fortune-tellers were consulted often while attending ceremonies and day-to-day work. *Joiśa* is mentioned as one of the fourteen branches of learning along with arithmetic, (*sarikhāṇa*), phonetics (*sikkhā*), ritual (*kappa*), grammar (*vāgarāṇa*),

¹*Thd.*, Commentary 10, 485a.

²*JSBI*, V, 203.

³*ibid*, 203ff

metre (*chanda*) and exegesis (*nirutta*).¹

Here is given a brief account of the treatises on the subject:

The *Sūryaprajñapti*, the *Candraprajñapti*, the *Jyotiṣkaraṇḍaka* and the *Gaṇavidyā* form a part of Jain Canon. They deal with various aspects of *jyotiṣa*.

Among non-canonical works the following can be noted:

1. *Jyotiṣasāra* by Ṭhakkara Pheru. It was composed in 1315 AD after studying the works of Haribhadra, Naracandra, Padmaprabhasūri, Jaṇa, Varāha, Lalla, Parāśara, Garga and so on. It is published by the Rajasthan Prachyavidya Pratisthan, Jodhpur.

2. *Vivāhapaḍala*. It has been mentioned in the *Niśītha Cūrṇi*.² It was consulted at the time of marriage.

3. *Laggasuddhi* also known as *Lagnakunḍalikā* by Haribhadrasūri.

4. *Dīnasuddhi* by Ratnaśekharasūri (15th century AD).

5. *Joisahīra* Author unknown.

6. *Agghakanda*. It has been mentioned in the *Niśītha Cūrṇi*.³ It predicted whether the commodity purchased will yield profit or loss.

7. *Joisacakkaviyāra* by Vinayakuśala Munī.

8. *Joisadāra*. Author unknown. The manuscript is in the Patan Jain Bhandar.⁴

9. *Joisahīra* or *Jyotiṣasāra* by Hīrakalaśa; composed in 1564 AD. It was rendered into Rajasthani couplets by the same author.⁵

The other treatises are.

1. *Ganaharahorā*

2. *Jyotiṣasāra* by Naracandrasūri

3. *Bhuvanaḍīpikā* or *Grahabhāvaprakāśa* by Padmaprabhasūri

4. *Varṣāprabodha* or *Meghamahodaya* by Upadhyaya Meghavijaya.

5. *Tājikasāra-jīkā* by Haribhaṭṭa, composed in about 1523 AD, and many others.⁶

Ramala or *Pāśakavidyā* or the science of foretelling events by casting dice. In his *Ramalavidyā* Munī Bhojasāgara (18th century AD) has stated that the science of *Ramala* was brought from the country of Yavana (Iran) by *ācārya* Kālaka. The work remains unpublished.⁷

¹*Vivāha*, 2.1

²13. 4362, p. 400 ³*ibid*

⁴*JSI*, V, 169 ⁵*ibid*, 185f

⁶*ibid*, 169, 179, 192f ⁷'Tāzi' is a Persian word for Arabic.

⁸*JSI*, V, 219f.

Śakunāśāstra or the Science of Omens: *Śakunaruta* or the knowledge of birds is considered one of the seventy-two arts; it is included in evil scripture, Udyotanasūri in his *Kuvalayamālā* has referred to the howling of jackals (*śivāruta*), notes of a crow (*kākaruta*) and the chirping of a lizard (*giroliyāruta*).¹

Śakunaruta has been also mentioned in the *Bṛhatkathakośa*.² Several treatises are mentioned on this subject:

1. *Sauṇadāra*.
2. *Śakunarahasya* by Jinadattasūri.
3. *Śakunāśāstra* by Māṇikyasūri.
4. *Śakunavicāra* (in *Apabhraṃśa*), and others.³

Dhātuvidyā or Alchemy: The *Vasudevahindī* has referred to a mendicant, who is said to have smeared a piece of iron with elixir, put it in the burning charcoal, blew it with bellows and thus the gold was produced.⁴ More details are provided in the *Kuvalayamālā* about Alchemy. The art of making artificial gold was practised in a secluded place of the Vindhya forest. It is stated that the red colour of flames of the fire indicated making of copper, yellow of gold, white of silver, black of iron and colourless of bronze.⁵ The text *Jonipāhuda* is mentioned as the source of this *vidyā*.⁶

Khanyavāda: A branch of knowledge dealing with mining. It has been stated in the *Kuvalayamālā* that the branches of the *Mālūra* tree indicate the presence of wealth below. In this context, the author has quoted the *Khanyavāda*, saying: "If there is a tree other than the tree of milky juice, one is sure to have some small or big amount of wealth hidden below."⁷

It has been stated that this wealth could be obtained by chanting the mystic formula known as *mahākāla*.⁸

Porāgama or *Śūdaśāstra* or *Annasamskāraśāstra* or art of cooking: *Porāgama* has been mentioned in the *Vasudevahindī*.⁹ The *Śūdaśāstra* which has been ascribed to Bhīmasena, has been mentioned in the

¹184, 14

²57, 293f. ³JSBI, V, 97f

⁴146, 22f, *The Vasudeva*, 670.

⁵195, 12f., *Nisī Cā*, 13, 4313, p. 387

⁶196, 32; 197, 6, *Das. Cā*, 1, 44

⁷KVLM, 104, 21ff.

⁸*Nisī Cā*, 13, 4312, p. 387.

⁹211, 13, 259, 28; 352, 4.

Bṛhatkathāślokaśaṅgraha.¹ It is said that King Nala was expert in preparing a delicious dish from the heat of the sun-rays.² It has been stated that the art of cooking depended on the knowledge of the science of medicine and in order to acquire this knowledge people made a trip to the country of Yavana.³

Ratnaparīkṣā or testing of precious stones by Ṭhakkar Pheru. It dealt with the verification of different types of precious stones, produced in various parts of the country. The author was a treasurer of King Alauddin (1915 AD).

Other works on the subject are:

Ratnaparīkṣā by Soma.

Samastaratnaparīkṣā Author not known.

Manikalpa by Mānatungasūri, and others.⁴

Dryaparīkṣā or the science of coins by Ṭhakkar Pheru. The treatise was composed in 1318 AD. About 200 coins have been examined in details with respect to their weight, price, quality, the place of origin and so on.⁵

Vāstusāra or the science of architecture by Ṭhakkar Pheru. It deals with the site, the foundation and the time suitable and other details for the construction of a building.⁶

Assasattha (*Aśvasāstra*) or the knowledge of horses. The horses were valued for their quick movements and were used for guarding the advanced position in the battlefield. In order to train horses, various kinds of muzzles were used for their mouth, ears, nose, hair, hoofs and thighs, they were brought under control by means of bridle, saddling, brandishing, caning, beating and goading.⁷ Various species of horses have been mentioned. The *kanthaka* horse was found in Kamboja, no noise could frighten it and it exceeded all other horses in speed.⁸ Besides 18 species of horses, the *Kuvalaya-*

¹XVI, 61. It is also known as *Annasamskāraśāstra*, XVI, 60.

²Tawney, *Kathākośa*, 221

³BKŚS, XXIII, 107

⁴JSBI, V, 243-45. *Ratnaparīkṣā* is included among the sixty-four subsidiary branches of knowledge in Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, and recognised as a part of training imparted to merchants' sons, Maya Prasad Tripathi, *Development of Geographical knowledge in Ancient India*, 1969, p. 208

⁵ibid, 247f. ⁶ibid, 242.

⁷Nāṇā, 17, 205, also see *VH*, 66, 29-67, 1; 67, 3-10.

⁸*Uttarā Sū.*, 11-16 and Commentary. Kalinga was also known for well-bred horses, *BKK*, 70-5

mālā refers to Vollāha, Kayāha and Soraha horses. These are Arabic names of horses introduced by Arab horse-traders, according to V.S. Agrawala.¹ Haribhadrasūri in his *Samarādiccakhā* refers to Valhika, Turuṣka, Kamboja, and Vajjara horses; most-probably they represented the countries from where they were brought.² The *Abhi-dhānacintāmaṇi* of Hemacandra also provides a list of horses.³ *Turaṇagaprabandha* by minister Durlabharāja. It deals with the qualities of horses. It was composed in about 1158 AD. It is not available.⁴

Haṭṭhisikkhā or the art of training elephants: Various species of elephants are mentioned in Jain texts. They are classified in accordance with their seasonal use, physical strength, sharp or low intelligence, ability to lead an attack and so on.⁵ *Gandhahastī* or the 'scent elephant' was considered the best. It was the leader of its herd and survived even after falling in a cave.⁶ There were special trainers of elephants.⁷ People trained them and brought them under control by employing various means.⁸ Ditches were prepared to catch elephants. They were made to fall in deep ditches and kept starving.⁹ *Hastiparikṣā*, also known as *Gajaprabandha* or *Gajaparikṣā* by Durlabharāja. It was composed in about 1158 AD mentioned in the *Jain Granthavali*.¹⁰

Mṛgapakṣisāstra or the knowledge of birds and animals is an important treatise by Hamsadeva. The author provides details with regard to the nature, habits, types, childhood, food, duration of life etc., of birds and animals in 36 sections.¹¹

Thus we see that Jain writers, besides writing religious and philosophical works, also composed literature not only pertaining to medicine, astrology, alchemy, precious stones, coins and other secular topics, but they also showed their interest in writing on cooking,

¹See A Cultural Note, *Kuvalayamālā*, 116.

²Id., 100.

³Also see Someśvara, *Mānasollāsa*, Jayadatta, *Aśvavaidyaka*; *Aśvaśāstra*; Tanjore, 1952.

⁴*JSBI*, V, 252

⁵*Tha*, 4.281 Commentary; *LAI*, 76; *VH*, 196n.

⁶*VH*, 199n.

⁷*Nisī Cū* 9. 23-25 and *Cū*.

⁸*VH*, 55, 68, 70, 15; 221, 16f, *The Vasudeva*, 408.

⁹*BHBH*, p. 652

¹⁰*JSBI*, V, 252

¹¹*ibid*, 250-52.

training of elephants and horses, and birds and animals, including '*Ramavidyā*' and '*Tājika*' system which were particularly developed by Muslims. Obviously, this vast literature indicates the universal aspect of Prakrit Jain narrative literature.

CHAPTER 7

Social and Cultural Life

CENTRE OF ACTIVITIES OF JAIN MONKS

Magadha or what is known now as South Bihar, West of Bengal and the region South of the Ganges, had been the main centre of activities of Mahavira. He was born in Vaiśālī (modern Basarh, Muzaffarpur) and during his ascetic career travelled from place to place in modern Bihar, West Bengal and a part of Eastern and Western Uttar Pradesh. It has been stated in the *Bṛhatkalpa Sūtra* that while Mahavira was sojourning in the Subhūmibhāga garden in Sākata, he instructed his monks as follows:

“The monks or nuns can wander towards the east as far as Aṅga-Magadha, towards the South as far as Kosāmbī, towards the West as far as Thūpā (Thaneshwar) and towards the north as far as Kunālā (Śrāvastī). This region is an Aryan region because it is here that their conduct can be safeguarded.”¹

This clearly indicates that at the time of Mahavira, the centre of activities of Jain monks was restricted to modern Bihar and a part of eastern and western Uttar Pradesh.

Later, after about 300 years, it is said that king Samprati (220-211 BC), grandson of Emperor Aśoka, came forward and extended the range of Jainism to twenty-five and a half countries. He invited his feudatories and asked them to pay homage to Jain monks. He also sent his soldiers under the garb of Jain monks to far-off countries and made the regions of Āndhra, Draviḍa, Maharashtra, Kuḍukka (Coorg) and Saurashtra accessible to Jain monks. The following are the twenty-five and a half kingdoms declared as Aryans:

<i>Kingdom</i>	<i>Capital</i>
Magadha	Rājagṛha
Aṅga	Campā

¹1. 50; also *Nisī Bhā*, 16. 5733.

Vaṅga	Tāmralipti
Kalīṅga	Kāñcanapura
Kāśī	Vārāṇasī
Kosala	Sāketa
Kuru	Gajapura (Hastināpura)
Kuśārta	Soriya (Śaurīpura; Sūryapur)
Pāñcāla	Kāmpilyapura
Jāṅgala	Ahicchatrā
Saurashtra	Bāravatī (Dwarka)
Videha	Mithilā
Śāṇḍilya	Nandīpura
Malaya	Bhadrīlapura
Matsya	Vairāta
Varaṇā	Acchā
Daśārṇa	Mṛttikāvati
Cedi	Śuktimati
Sindhu-Sauvira	Vitibhaya
Śūrasena	Mathurā
Bhaṅgī	Pāpā
Vaṭṭā	Māsapuri
Kuṇālā	Śrāvastī
Lāḍha	Koṭivarṣa
Kekayī-ardha (half of Kekayī) ¹ Śvetikā ²	

Thus the scope of the movements of Jain monks extended to the Western India, including Saurashtra and Sindhu-Sauvira, and a part of Dakṣiṇāpatha (the South of the Ganges and North of Godavari).

As in order to propagate their religious tenets, Jain monks crossed the limits of Magadha and its adjoining districts, they had to pass through formidable passages to reach their destination. They had to cross difficult mountainous regions, ford treacherous rivers, penetrate dense forests and track across the desert regions in the West. After undertaking a long journey, they were tired and in order to remove their fatigue their feet were washed, massaged and oil or ghee was applied to them.³ Their knees were affected by wind and

¹Situated at the base of Nepal in the north-east of Śrāvastī. Perhaps a few people came here under the Jain influence, the half portion was inhabited by aborigines.

²*Bṛh. Bhā. Vr.*, I, 3263, *Panna*, I, 66, 173, *Pravacanasamoddhāra*, 446.

³*Bṛh. Bhā.*, I, 1226

due to pain in their thighs they were unable to walk.¹ Sometimes due to excessive rains the rivers were flooded and they had to wait for a long time till the flood subsided. At times, a wild elephant stood in their way and would not allow them to proceed further.² By walking through snow, thorny bushes, seeds of fruits, wooden stocks, mud, deep ditches, uneven tracks and mountain caves, they stumbled and fell unconscious. Under extreme conditions, for example, if a monk was ill, or suffered from foot-sore, leprosy or piles or was short-sighted, he was allowed to use shoes as precaution against cold, wild animals, snake, snow, thorns and so on.³

While making long journeys, the monks also suffered from hunger and thirst and as a measure to prevent them, they were allowed to carry articles such as plantains mixed with sugar and *ghee* or jaggery and *ghee*, or dates mixed with jaggery and *ghee*, or barley-meal mixed with jaggery and *ghee*, or wheat or rice powder mixed with jaggery, or in absence of these, parched rice, wheat-flour or rice powder. These articles subsided their hunger even though taken in a small quantity and they did not feel thirsty after eating them. Jain *sādhus* were also allowed to carry their medicine for the treatment of wind, bile and phlegm, and ointment and bandages for the cure of wounds.⁴

Wherever Jain monks went, they studied the people and the country; it was known as *janapadaparīkṣā*. Their travelling from place to place and visiting countries was considered an act of piety. It has been stated that a *sādhu* should be well-versed in regional languages and dialects so that he could expound the religious tenets without any difficulty. During these tours, he also got an opportunity to meet learned *ācāryas* and ascertain the meaning of the *Sūtras* from them. During his tours he also knew how crop was cultivated in different regions and how the fields were irrigated. He learnt that in the country of Lāṭa the cultivation depended on rains, in Sindh it was carried out by the rivers, in the Draviḍa country by tanks, in Uttarāpatha by wells and there were places where floods served the purpose of irrigation. Then, there were places such as Kānanadvīpa

¹ibid, 1.3055f

²ibid, 1.3073.

³See ibid, 1. 2883ff, 3.3847ff; *Nisī. Bhā.*, 1.508, 11.3431-37.

⁴*Nisī. Bhā.*, 16 5694-95 and *Cūṛṇf.*

where the paddy was planted on boats, whereas in Mathura there was no farming and people lived on trade.¹ The farmers irrigated their fields turn by turn by small channels, and sometimes they used the channel water secretly without being noticed.²

CUSTOMS AND PRACTICES PREVALENT IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES

As we have seen, except the four months of the rainy season when travelling was virtually at a standstill, Jain monks travelled from north to south and from east to west, acquiring information about the people and the country they visited. This information has been recorded in ancient Jain texts and their commentaries which can be very useful in the reconstruction of the cultural history of ancient Indian society. Here we are presenting a few glimpses of geographical, social, political, economic and cultural characteristics of the far-flung regions, generally not known from other sources. In accordance with the two great trade routes, the whole country was divided into Uttarāpatha (northern region) and the Dakṣiṇāpatha (southern region). In the northern region, the winter was very severe and people in want of sufficient clothes, spent the nights by warming themselves before the fire.³ Like the winter the summer too was unbearable, and there was constant rainfall⁴ here, in monsoon it was cold.⁵ People set fire to the dried grass so that the fresh one may grow in its place.⁶ It was customary here to have meals at night and the Jain monks who travelled in this region, were obliged to follow the same practice under extreme conditions.⁷ As the people from Kuḍukka (Coorg) and Konkaṇa were fond of rice-gruel, so the natives of this region liked barley-meal.⁸ As in Dakṣiṇāpatha the cousin marriage with maternal uncle's daughter was not allowed in this region.⁹ Uttarāpatha was known for its religious wheel (*dharmacakra*).¹⁰ It is stated that when *Ācārya* Vajrasvāmī visited this land, a severe famine broke out and

¹See *Bṛh Bhā*, 1.1229-39

²*Nisī Pī*, 329

³*Nisī Cū Pī*, 175

⁴*ibid*, 247 ⁵*Das Cū*, 276

⁶*Āva Cū*, II, 297

⁷*Nisī Cū Pī*, 455

⁸*ibid*, 126. ⁹*ibid*, *Das. Cū.*, 1, 17.

¹⁰*Bṛh Bhā Vṛ*, 5.5824.

the roads were blocked.¹ It has been stated that the Tankapa *mlecchas* resided here; they travelled to Dakṣiṇāpatha for trade carrying gold, ivory, and other saleable commodities.² This region was known for its horses.³

Magadha was the centre of activities of Mahavira; he preached his religious tenets in the local dialect known as Arddhamagadhi. Magadha is considered a holy place situated in the east. It has been stated that when Bharata, the first sovereign king, was installed on the throne, the holy water was brought from this land for his consecration.⁴ In the *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya* the inhabitants of Magadha are called wise as they were able to grasp a thing merely by an indication, next came the people from Kosala, who understood by observation, then the natives of Pāñcāla, who understood by hearing, and last of all were the people from South who could grasp a thing only if told explicitly.⁵

Rājagṛha, also known as *Magadhapura* was a capital city of Magadha. It is included among ten capitals of ancient India: Campā, Mathurā, Vārānaśi, Śrāvastī, Sāketa, Kāmpilya, Kauśāmbī, Mithilā, Hastināpura and Rājagṛha.⁶ Mahavira is said to have passed fourteen rainy seasons here. It was frequented by Mahavira's disciples and various other renowned *ācāryas*. As the city was surrounded by five hills it was called Girivraja, the Vaibhāra and the Vipula hills being more popular among Jains. Rājagṛha is known for its water-spring, known as Mahātapopatiṣṭhapra (Tapoda in Pali); it was near the Vaibhāra hill.⁷ Rājagṛha was known for trade and commerce, and there were direct trade routes from here to Takṣaśilā, Pratiṣṭhāna and other trade centres.

Campā was a prominent place in this region. It was frequently visited by Mahavira and his disciples. Campā was known for its far-famed shrine of Pūrṇabhadra which has been elaborately described

¹ *Āva Cū*, 396.

² *Āva Cū*, 120, *VH*, 288n.

³ *Uttarā. Vr.*, 9, 141

⁴ *Thā*, 3 142, *Āva. Cū*, 186.

⁵ 10 192, cf. "Wisdom lies in the east, dexterity in the south, treachery in the west and manliness in the north," Gilgit Manuscript of the *Vinayapiṭaka*, *IHQ*, 1938, 416.

⁶ *Thā*, 10, 718, *Nisī Sū.*, 9 19.

⁷ *Viyāha*, 2 5; *Ṛh Bhā. Vr.*, 2. 3429. It is known as Tapoban.

in the *Ovāiya Sūtra*. We are told that accompanied by his queens, King Kupika Ajātaśatru paid homage to Mahavira, who was sojourning in this shrine.¹ Several texts of Jain Canon were explained here. Campā was noted for trade and commerce. We come across a number of local merchants who proceeded to far-off countries for trade. We read a beautiful description of sea-faring merchants who filled their vessel with various commodities and set out for journey.²

Pāṭaliputra (Patna) is known for the first congregation of Jain monks, who assembled here to set the canonical text in order. *Nālanda* was another important centre where Mahavira and Gośāla lived together.

Videha (Tirhut Division) played an important role in the history of Jainism. As Trisālā, the mother of Mahavira, was born in Videha, she was known as Videhadattā.³ Similarly, as Kūnika Ajātaśatru was the son of queen Cetaṇā of Videha, he was called Vajjividehaputra.⁴ *Mithilā* was a capital city of Videha, where Mahavira had passed several rainy seasons. Maithilīyā has been mentioned as one of the śākhās of Jain ascetics in the *Kalpasūtra*. *Vaiśālī* was another capital of Videha, though it has not been included among ten main cities of India. It is the birthplace of Mahavira, who is called Vaiśālīya. During his ascetic career Mahavira passed twelve rainy seasons here. It was the chief city of the Vajjis, and the residents of this place belonged to the Licchavi clan. Licchavis were well-known for their unity and co-operation, which as it has been pointed out, must have influenced the fourfold organisation of Mahavira. *Malaya* was another country, situated in the south-east of Magadha with *Bhadrilapura* (Bhadiya, a village near Kuluha hill about six miles from Hunterganj, in the Hazaribagh district) as its capital. It is considered the birthplace of the tenth Tīrthānkara. Curiously enough, it has been abandoned by Jain community. Another important place of this region is *Sammedaśikhara*, also known as Malla Parvata. Twenty out of twenty-four Tīrthānkaras are said to have achieved salvation here.

Kalīṅga or Orissa has played a significant role in the history of Jain religion. Here we have beautiful caves constructed out of the

¹*Sū*, 1-2, 10.

²*Nāyā*, 8, 97ff.

³*Kalpa*, 5 109.

⁴*Vidyāha*, 7 9.

Udayagiri and *Khandagiri* hills near Bhuvaneshvar. The well-known Hastigumpha Cave, situated here, contains inscriptions of Emperor Kharavela, who is said to have brought back the idol of Jina from Magadha. *Tosali* (modern Dhauli) was an important centre of Jain monks. Mahavira is said to have travelled here during his ascetic life and suffered physical torture. It was a watery region where farm was cultivated by channels even though there were no rains. Sometimes, due to excessive rains the crop was destroyed and the Jain monks and nuns were obliged to live on palm fruits which grew here in abundance.¹ *Tosali* is mentioned along with *Konkapa* where people were fond of eating fruits and vegetables; they earned their livelihood by selling fruits and flowers.² As *Rajagṛha* was known for hot water-springs, so was *Tosali* for its water ponds.³ This place was famous for its fine textile.⁴ *Tosali* was known for wild furious she-buffaloes, who did not harm their herdmen, but once killed *ācārya*, *Tosali* by tearing him to pieces by their hoofs and mouths.⁵ We have already mentioned about a *svayamvara*-hall (*vyāgharanaśālā*) in *Tosali* where slave boys and girls gathered for choosing their partner.⁶ *Selapura* was situated in *Tosali* which was known for its tank called *Isitadaga*. It is stated that people gathered together at this place and celebrated eight-days feast (*saṃkhaḍi*).⁷

Vanga (East Bengal) finds a place among sixteen *janapadas*, with *Tāmrālipti* (Tamluk) its capital. *Tāmalittiyā* is mentioned a *śākhā* of Jain monks. It was a great centre of trade and commerce. The goods were brought here by land and water. *Tāmrālipti* is mentioned along with *Konkapa* and *Sindhu*, known for mosquitoes.⁸

Lāḍha (West Bengal) was visited by Mahavira as we have seen earlier. It was inhabited by tribal people and Mahavira had to undergo lot of hardship in this region. *Koṭivarṣa* (Bangarh in the District of Dinajpur) is mentioned as a capital city of *Lāḍha*. *Koṭivarisiyā* has been mentioned as a *śākhā* of Jain ascetics in the *Kalpasūtra*.

¹*Bṛh. Bhā.*, 1. 1060-61.

²*ibid*, 1. 1239, *Vibhaṣa Cū*.

³*Bṛh. Bhā.*, 2. 3429.

⁴*Nisī. Sū.*, 7. 12 *Cū*.

⁵*Ācā. Cū*, 247.

⁶*supra*, ch. II, 55.

⁷*Bṛh. Bhā.*, 1. 3150.

⁸*Sāya.*, Commentary, 3. 1. 12.

It seems, as this region was surrounded by primitive people, it was not considered safe for Jain monks to travel here. In course of time, as the Middle Land (Madhya Desha) came into prominence, Jains abandoned Magadha, the birth place of Jainism, and transmigrated to more prosperous land, situated to the north-east of Magadha. Kāśī is included among sixteen *Janapadas*. It is stated that this *janapada* was inhabited by rich merchants, each of whom had the capacity of buying and selling the commodities worth one crore.¹ *Vārāṇasī* was capital of Kāśī, though later, the names were used interchangeably. *Vārāṇasī* was the birth place of Pārśvanātha, and was visited by Mahavira. In order to acquire wealth, people desired to go to this city where they gambled, broke houses, stole ornaments, robbed travellers, picked pockets and practised fraud.²

Vatsa is situated to the west of Kāśī with *Kauśāmbī* as its capital. *Kauśāmbī* was a centre of activities of Jain monks. It was visited by Mahavira and various renowned Jain *ācāryas*. *Kosambi* is described as a *Śākhā* of Jain ascetics. It was here that Candanabālā, the first woman disciple of Mahavira, was initiated. Queen Mṛgavatī installed her son Udayana to the throne of *Kauśāmbī* and joined the order of nuns at the feet of Mahavira.³

Kosala (Oudh) was another important *janapada*. As Mahavira was called Vaiśālīka (born in Vaiśālī), so, Rṣabha was known *Kauśāhika* (born in *Kosala*). The natives of this country were fond of liquor and rice.⁴ *Sāketa* (Ayodhya) was capital of *Kosala*. In Jain tradition, *Sāketa* is known as the first pilgrimage and the first city of India.

Kunāla is also known as Uttara *Kosala*. Owing to the Sarayu river the country of *Kosala* was divided into the North *Kosala* and the South *Kosala*. *Śrāvastī*, also known as *Kunālanagarī*, was capital of the North *Kosala*. *Śrāvastī* lay on the bank of *Erāvati* (*Acirāvati* or *Rapti*). It is said that the water of the river was knee-deep and Jain monks were permitted to cross it by keeping one foot in the water and another in the air. Some places of the river lay dry and the monks were allowed to cross it and go for begging alms.⁵ The river caused heavy damage when flooded. A story is recorded about the destruction of the city in Jain texts. As the two hermits, *Karaḍa* and

¹*Taraṅga*, 1422.²*KVLM*, 57, 16-17³*Āva Cū*, II, 91f⁴*Pinḍa Nir*, 619.⁵*Bṛh. Sū.*, 4.33, *Bhā.*, 5639, 5653.

Ukkaṛaḍa were staying in the city, there were no rains in the country, although it was raining everywhere else. Seeing this the citizens blamed the hermits and asked them to quit. The hermits flew into passion and as a result of their curse, the heavens poured down rains for fifteen days incessantly so that the whole country was inundated. We are told that after three years of the incident, both hermits died at Sāketa and after thirteen years Mahavira attained omniscience.¹ Śrāvastī was a centre of activities of Gośālā. A historical meeting is said to have taken place between the two representatives of Pārśvanātha and Mahavira, called Keśī and Goyama.² Proceeding to the western Uttara Pradesh, we come to Pāñcāla (modern Badaun, Ferrukhabad and the adjoining districts). Kāmpilaya-pura (Kāmpīl) was capital of south Pāñcāla. Jāngala or Kurujāngala or north Pāñcāla has been mentioned as another janapada with Ahicchatrā as its capital. According to Jains, when Pārśvanātha was practising penance here, he was protected by the hood (ahicchatra) of Dharapendra, the king of Nāgas. It is mentioned as a holy place along with Aṣṭāpada, Ūrjayanta (Girnar), Hastināpura, Dharmacakra and so on.³ It was a centre of trade.⁴ Kuśāvartī was situated in the north of Mathura with Śaurīpura (Sūryapur or Surajpur near Bate-shvar in Agra District), as its capital. According to Jain tradition, it was birth place of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva and his cousin brother Ariṣṭanami.⁵

Śūrasena was another janapada with Mathura as its capital. Mathura was considered a prominent city of Uttarāpatha. Mathura had been an important centre of Jains in the beginning of the Christian era. It has been described as a very ancient city in Jain texts.⁶ Mention has been made of a jewelled Stūpa in Mathura over which there arose a dispute between Jains and Buddhists;⁷ it is said to have been built by divine gods (devanīrmita).⁸ The inscriptions discovered in the kaṇikālī Tīlā belong to the reign of Kanishka and his successor proving that the Jain community flourished in this region in the first century AD. The inscriptions bearing the names of the patriarchs

¹ *Āva Cū*, 601.² *Uttarā Sū*, 23.³ *Ācū Nir.*, 335.⁴ *Nāyā.*, 15, 158.⁵ *Uttarā. Sū.*, 22.⁶ *Uttarā. Cū*, 82.⁷ *Vya. Bhā.*, 5.27f.⁸ Hariṣena, BKK (12.132), Somadeva, *Yasastilakacampu*, cf. *Rāmēyaṇa*, 7, 70.5.

belonging to particular *gaṇa* (school), *kula* (family) and *sākhā* (branch), mostly coincide with the list provided by the *Kalpasūtra* of Bhadrabāhu.¹ It has been stated in the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* that the ninety-six villages were attached to Mathura and the people of these villages installed the idol of Jina in the lintels of their newly constructed house so that their house may not be damaged.² Mathura was known for the assembly of Jain teachers, who in order to put Jain Canonical texts in order, gathered here in about 300 BC, after about 827 years of Mahavira's death. The Prakrit dialect Śauraseni owes its name to the region of Śūrasena. Jambūsvāmī, the last *kevalin*, attained salvation from here. Besides, a number of renowned Jain teachers visited the city from time to time. Mathura was an emporium for trade; goods were brought here by land and water route. It was trading and not farming that provided the livelihood to the people. Mathura was known for its cloth.³ Udyotanasūri in his *Kuvalayamālā* has given a graphic description of an Orphanage (*anātha-mandapa*) of the city. It consisted of people who were disabled, who suffered from leprosy, leucoderma and tuberculosis; some were extremely poor and utterly helpless; some were blind, lame, slothful, hump-backed, and dwarf; some were those whose nose, ears and lips were clipped; others were scorched, parasites, way-farers, pilgrims, messengers, and so on. They were talking and discussing about their sins as to how they could be washed out and at what place. Someone remarked, "the sin of leprosy could be washed out at Vārāṇasī," another man observed, "it could be washed out better at the Sun Temple at Mūlasthāna (modern Multan in Pakistan)," the third one remarked, "six months stay at Mahākāla Temple at Ujjeni will be enough to wash out the sin," others observed, "even the accumulated sin could be washed out at the Akṣayaṇa at Prayāga," someone remarked, "no, even the most horrible sin of killing one's parents, can be cleaned by having bath at the confluence of the Ganges with the sea, and paying homage to the deity Bhairava Bhaṭṭāraka there"⁴ Monkey tricks were invoked in Mathura. A monkey played drum and performed dance. It was caught from jungle and brought to the city to make it,

¹See *Archaeological Survey Reports*, III, Plates 13-15, Bühler, *The Indian Sects of the Jains*, 42-60

²*Bṛh. Bhā*, 1 1774ff ³*Āva. Vṛ.*, 307.

⁴55, 10-21,

a source of livelihood.¹ Bhaṇḍira Yakṣa was popular here and a festival in honour of the deity was celebrated.² *Acchā* was situated in the north of Mathura. It is included among sixteen *janapadas* of ancient India. *Varaṇā* (modern Baran in Bulandshahar district) was its capital. The *Vāraṇa gaṇa* and the *Uccānāgarī Śākha* have been mentioned in the *Kalpasūtra*. It is interesting that Bulandshahar is a literal translation of *Uccānāgarī*.³

Kuru is included among twenty-five and a half Aryan countries with *Gajapura* or *Hastināpura* as its capital. It is said to be the birth place of several Tirthaṅkaras and Cakravartins. Jainism also reached Western India. *Saurashtra*, an important place of this region, has been included with *Āndhra*, *Draviḍa*, *Maharashtra* and *Kuḍuka* which shows that this region was made accessible to Jain monks later. *Saurashtra* was a centre of trade and the merchants thronged here from far-off countries. *Bāravatī* (*Dvārakā* or *Junagarh*) was its capital which has been described in Jain texts of antiquity.⁴ It was a large and beautiful city surrounded by stone walls. It is stated in the *Mahābhārata* that the *Yādavas*, out of fear of *Jarāsandha*, migrated to *Dvārakā* from *Mathura*. *Kṛṣṇa Vasudeva*'s name is associated with this city. In the north-east of *Dvārakā* was situated the mountain *Raivataka*, also known as *Urjayanta* (*Girnār*). It was here that *Ariṣṭanemi* attained salvation. This mountain looked beautiful with thickets and creepers and had water-springs where people gathered to celebrate the annual feast.⁵ As it has been stated earlier, here in the *Candragumphā* cave *Ācārya Dharasena* practised penance and instructed his disciples, *Bhūtabali* and *Puṣpadanta*, to put ancient scriptures into writing.

Valabhi (Wala, eighteen miles north-west of Bhavnagar) was another capital of *Saurashtra*. Jain monks assembled here in the 5th century AD in order to give the final form to Jain Canon. Though the country of *Lāṭa* (*Gujarat*) is not included in the list of Aryan countries, it seems, later it became popular among Jain monks. *Lāṭā-cārya* is mentioned a prominent teacher of this region. The festival in honour of the mountain (*gīriyajña*) was celebrated here during

¹*VH*, 285, 25-27

²*Nisī. Cū*, 12 4217.

³See *LAI*, under 'Varaṇa,' 352

⁴*Nāyā.*, 5, 66, *Bṛh. Bhā.*, 1.1123.

⁵*Bṛh. Bhā. Vr.*, 1.2922.

the rainy season,¹ and the festival of Indra on the full moon day of Śrāvaṇa.² The cousin marriage with maternal uncle's daughter was permitted here as in Dakṣināpatha, though it was prohibited in Uttarāpatha; however, the cousin marriage, i.e., the marriage with sister's daughter was not permissible.³ Various words and expressions prevalent in this region have been recorded in ancient Jain texts and their commentaries.⁴ The natives of this region are called deceitful by nature (*guṇḥamāyāvī*).⁵ The cloth brought from eastern country was sold here at a high price.⁶ The women from Lāṭa have been noted for their charm and beauty by Abhayadeva (11th century AD): "The women from Lāṭa are beautiful to look at; they have moon-like face, lotus-like eyes, their speech is pleasant, their breasts are thick and fleshy; such women are difficult to be obtained even by divine gods. On the other hand, the women from the north are to be censured as they are unable to give pleasure to the eyes, their body being wrapped with clothes."⁷

To the north of Saurashtra we have *Sindhu-Savīra*. According to Abhayadeva, since Sauvira (Sindh) lay on the bank of river Sindhu (Indus), it was called Sindhu-Sauvīra, though Buddhists have described Sindhu and Sauvīra as two different countries. Various customs and practices of this land have been recorded in Jain texts. The land here was very rough and flooded frequently. It had breaches in the earth. Cold breezes blew and there was dew-fall at night.⁸ It was a home of various heretical nuns. Generally, Jain monks were not encouraged to visit this land, but if under extreme conditions, such as famine or the invasion of the enemy, one was obliged to travel, he was expected to return soon.⁹ The natives of this land were fond of eating milk-products,¹⁰ since meat-eating was a common practice, non-vegetarians were not despised here.¹¹ Washermen were not considered of low status;¹² drinking of wine was common and no one objected to the use of wine-pot for drinking water.¹³ Clean-

¹*Ibid*, 1 2855.²*Nisī Cū.*, 19.6065, p 226³*Ibid*, *Pi.*, 126.⁴*See LAI*, 305⁵*Vya Bhā*, 3 345⁶*Ibid*, 7 32⁷*Thā.*, Com 4, p 199, also *Kathākośa*, 6.⁸*Vya. Bhā*, 8 15⁹*Brh Bhā Vr.*, 1 2881f, 4.5441ff.¹⁰*Ibid*, 3 2749¹¹*Ibid*, 1.1239 and Note.¹²*Nisī Cū*, 4 1618¹³*Brh. Bhā*, 1.1239.

liness was advocated, hence in order to obtain alms, Jain monks put on clean clothes; they were permitted to wear garments with fringes.¹ In the Digambara tradition, Rāmilla, Sthūlabhadra and Bhadrācārya migrated to this land when there was famine in Ujjeni.

As stated earlier, from the time of Samprati, the region of *Dakṣiṇāpatha* (south of the Ganges and the north of Godavari river) became a centre of Jains. It has been stated that first, Samprati conquered Ujjeni and from there he brought the whole *Dakṣiṇāpatha* under his control.² Various customs and practices of this region have been mentioned in Jain texts. The costume of the natives of this region was quite different from those of *Uttarāpatha*.³ Blacksmiths and wine-sellers were considered of low caste here.⁴ Barley-meal was difficult to obtain during summer.⁵ There was a custom here that in winter season at the time of sunrise, a large cake (*maṇḍaka*; *māṇḍā* in Hindi) prepared out of rice, was offered to a crow, as if offered to a Brahman.⁶ There was a belief amongst people that a deity-house was a dwelling place of a *vānamantara* god.⁷ According to Digambara Jain tradition, during the reign of Candragupta, there came to pass a famine in Pāṭaliputra when Bhadrabāhu, accompanied by his disciples, migrated to the South.

Maharashtra was a prominent place in the southern region. Various customs and practices of this region have been referred to in Jain texts which shows that later it had become a centre of Jainism. The natives of this region were known for their talkative nature.⁸ Wine-sellers and barbers were not despised in this country, and a flag was always seen on wine-shops whether it contained wine or not.⁹ The naked Jain monks used to wear a ring (*veṇṭaka*) around their penis. It is stated that if by chance, the penis of a monk happened to be large or circumcised, he was instructed to keep it covered with a piece of cloth.¹⁰ Another custom prevalent in *Maharashtra* was that the unmarried girls used to wear an underwear, known as *bhoyaḍā* (the same as *Kaccha* in the country of Lāṭa; *Kach-oḷā* in Hindi) from their childhood which they continued wearing

¹*Nisī. Cū*, 15.5094.

²*Das. Cū*, 17.

³*Brh. Bhā. Vr*, 1.2889.

⁴*Nisī. Cū*, 11.3403, *Brh. Bhā.*, 1.2855.

⁵*Ācā. Cū*, 260

⁶*Brh. Bhā*, 2.3539.

⁷*Brh. Bhā*, 1.3276.

⁸*Vya. Bhā.*, 7.126.

⁹*Vya. Bhā.*, 7.126.

¹⁰*Brh. Bhā*, 1.2637.

till they got conceived after marriage. Then a feast was celebrated in the company of relatives and *bhoyadā* was taken out.¹ Maharashtra was known for the activities of renowned religious teachers such as Kālaka, Pādalipta and others. It became famous for the festival of *Sramana-pūjā* (worship of Jain monks).² *Pratiṣṭhanapura* was capital of Maharashtra which had been a great centre of Jain monks. It was an emporium of trade; the merchants arrived here from far-off countries and earned plenty of gold and jewels.³ Woollen blankets were sold here at a high price.⁴

Konkana. It is cited as an example of an island which did not overflow with periodical sea-tides (*asandīva*).⁵ Owing to excessive rainfall in this region, Jain monks were permitted to use an umbrella.⁶ During famine or even otherwise, people were in the habit of eating flesh, and were fond of fruits and flowers.⁷ The region was known for mosquitoes. It had been a centre of activities of Jain monks *Śūrpāraka* (modern Nala Sopara in the Thana district) was a capital city of *Konkana*.

Golla (the region of Godavari) has been mentioned at several places in Jain texts. In cold weather, Jain monks were allowed to wear two garments instead of one, one under, another upper.⁸ A patient was not exposed here owing to the fear of a goblin.⁹ *Gollā-cārya* has been referred to in the Śravana Beḷgoḷa inscriptions. Various words and expressions current in this region have been recorded in Jain texts.¹⁰

Dravida. It was difficult to get a shelter for Jain monks and hence they were allowed to stay here under a tree.¹¹ *Kāñcīpurā* was its capital. Various kinds of coins have been mentioned in Jain texts. The cowrie shells (*kavaddaga*) were most ordinary coins. Among copper coins *kākiṇī* was the smallest which was current in Dakṣiṇā-patha. *Dramma* was a silver coin, current in Bhīllamāla; and *Dināra* or *Kavadika*, a golden coin, current in Pūrvadeśa. It has been stated

¹Nisī. Cū. Pt. , 52

²ibid, 10 3153, p. 131.

³KVLM, 57, 29f

⁴Brh. Bhā , 3.3914 For words and expressions current in Maharashtra, See LAI, 312.

⁵Uttarā Cū., 115

⁶Ācā Cū , 366.

⁷Brh. Bhā , Vr , 1.1239

⁸Ācā. Cū., 274.

⁹Brh. Bhā , 1 2380

¹⁰See LAI, 286

¹¹Brh. Bhā. Vr , 3.3749

that two *sabharakas* of Dvīpa were equivalent to one *rāpyaka* of Uttarāpatha, and two of Uttarāpatha made one of Pāṭaliputra; or two *rupyakas* of Dakṣiṇāpatha made one *nelaka* of Kāncīpurī and two of Kāncīpurī made one *nelaka* of Kusumanagara (Pāṭaliputra).¹

Kuṣṭhika (Coorg) also became a centre of activities of Jain monks. *Kuṣṭhika ācārya* is mentioned in the *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya*.² Thus we see that Jainism originated and flourished in Magadha, and as the Middle Land thrived in trade and commerce, Jains migrated from Magadha and settled in this region. Gradually, Jainism reached Saurashtra in Western India and in course of time, the whole of Southern India, including Maharashtra, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Andhra, flourished with the activities of Jain *śramanas*.

TRADE AND COMMERCE

The *Kuvalayamālā* (8th century AD) provides us with an interesting account of traders who flocked to the city of Vijayā from different parts of the country. They could be distinguished by their dialects and languages (*desabhāṣā*) spoken in different territories. Here are the people of various countries with their temperament, habits, built of the body and words from their dialects: (1) People from Golla (region of Godavari) are dark and speak harsh words; they enjoy a number of skirmishes and are devoid of modesty. They utter '*adḍe*' (2) People from Madhyadeśa are masters in state policy and in the treatise of peace and war; they are talkative by nature. They utter '*tere mere āu.*' (3) People from Magadha are pot-bellied, ugly and infirm, they yearn for amorous sports. They speak '*ege le.*' (4) People from Antaraveda (region between Ganges and Jamuna) are reddish in complexion with brown eyes, and much of their time was spent in talking about food. They speak sweet expressions such as '*kitto kimmo.*' (5) People from Kira (Kulu Kangra) are lofty with flat nose and have golden complexion; they carry heavy loads. They speak '*sāri pāri.*' (6) People from Dhaka (Punjab) lack in courtesy, generosity, manliness, skill and kindness. They speak '*evam teham.*' (7) People from Sindhu are peaceful, sweet and tender; they like music and are homesick. They speak '*calidaya me.*' (8) People from Maru

¹ *Brh. Bhā.*, 1.1969, 3.389ff, *Nisī. Cā.*, 10.3070, 1.958f.

² 4.283, 1, p. 221a.

are crooked, dull and sluggish; they eat more and their limbs are rough and fatty. They speak '*appām tuppām.*' (9) People from Gujaraṭ have their body nourished with ghee and butter; they are pious and adept in treatise of peace and war. They utter '*paṭi re bhallaṃ.*' (10) People from Lāṭa bathe, anoint their body, comb their hair; they make their body attractive. They utter '*amham kām tumham.*' (11) People from Mālāvā are slender and dark; they are irritant, fierce and self-respecting. They say '*bhāuya bhainī tumhe.*' (12) People from Karnāṭaka are excessively proud, too much given to pleasures, fierce and of fickle temper. They speak '*adī pāṇḍi mare.*' (13) The Tājikas cover their body with bodice; they like flesh, wine and love. They speak '*isi kisi misi.*' (14) People from Kosala are adept in various arts; they are proud, irritable and well-built. They speak '*jala tala le.*' (15) People from Maharashtra are hardy, lean, dark and enduring, they are proud and quarrelsome. They utter '*dinnalle gahiyalle.*' (16) People from Andhra like women and warfare; they are handsome and fierce in eating. They speak '*aṭi puṭi raṭim.*'¹

There were local Traders' Associations, known as *vāṇiya-meli*. Such an association existed in Śūrpāraka, a flourishing sea-port of Western India. According to the local custom, traders coming from outside had to report to the Association the country of their origin, the destination, field of trade, the nature, value and volume of commodity in which they were interested. The Association used to honour the merchants by offering them perfumes, betel and garlands. While narrating their experience the merchants gave some useful information. One of them said, "I went to Kosala with a troop of horses. The king gave me one she-elephant-calf in exchange of my horses." Another said, "I went to Uttarāpatha with betel nuts and I bought horses out of the profit." Another said, "I went with pearls to the eastern country and returned with fly-whisks." Another man went to Dvārakā and returned with conch shells. Another one went to Barbaricum taking fabrics with him and returned with superior pearls and ivory. Another man went to Suvarṇadvīpa (Sumatra) taking *palāśa* flowers (*Butea frondosa*) and brought gold from there. Another merchant went to Chīna (Indo-China) and Mahācina taking buffaloes and buffaloes' horns and returned with

¹152, 23-153, 12; Upadhye, Introduction, 83f.

gaṅgāpatta and *netrāpatta* cloths.¹ Another one went to Ratnadvīpa with leaves of *nimba* tree and returned with precious stones.²

THE MOVEMENT OF THE CARAVAN

We have an elaborate description of *sārtha* or the caravan in Jain texts. The caravan is divided into five categories: (i) who carried goods by carts and wagons, (ii) carried goods by camels, mules and bullocks, (iii) the members carried their own goods, (iv) labourers, who in search of their livelihood went from place to place, (v) composed of ascetics and religious mendicants.³ The caravan had with it various kinds of vehicles such as litters, horses, buffaloes, elephants and oxen which could be used for sick and wounded persons, old men and children, who were unable to walk with the members of the caravan.⁴ Such caravans which carried eatables such as sweetmeats, wheat, sesamum, jaggery and *ghee* were considered praiseworthy as in the time of unforeseen calamities like heavy rain, flood, attack by robbers and wild elephants, the leader of the caravan could feed the members.⁵

Many a time a caravan was led astray for lack of proper direction. While passing through a forest, if there was a heavy downpour and the road became marshy, the caravan had to encamp till the rainy season was over.⁶ We are told that the area of Sīnavallī (Sinavan, District Muzaffargarh, Pakistan) was surrounded by a formidable desert where there was no water to drink, or tree shade to protect from the burning heat of the sun. Under the circumstances, a caravan suffered much.⁷ The members of the caravan travelled fast during night and the children and old people were carried in a *kāvad* (a bamboo pole with baskets attached to both its ends).⁸ The merchants

¹ *Gaṅgāpatta* was a special kind of silk manufactured for export to India; it was known as *gaṅgājūl* in India. *Netra* was a special kind of figured and coloured silk, V.S. Agrawala, A Cultural Note, *KVLM*, 118f.

² *KVLM*, 65, 22-66, 4, Agrawala, op cit

³ *Bṛh. Bhā.*, 1.3066 ff; *LAI*, 117

⁴ *Bṛh. Bhā.*, 1, 3071; cf *KVLM*, 134, 32-135, 2; *TŚP*, I, 12f.; *LAI*, 117.

⁵ *Bṛh. Bhā.*, 3073, 3078f.

⁶ *Āva. Cū.*, 131.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 553; II, 34.

⁸ *Nisf. Bhā. Cū.*, 16.5652.

travelling through deserts followed the nails that were struck in the sand indicating proper direction.¹ For the guidance of the travellers the distinctive features of the routes were inscribed on rocks and trees.² Some caravan started the journey at sunrise, some encamped at the rise of the sun when the shadow was long as a human figure, others encamped at a cow-station, and others had their meals at midday.³

NAUTICAL INFORMATION

Jain texts also provide us with some important details of maritime trade. The ships made their onward journey by the force of the wind. They were fitted with oars and rudders, sails and anchors; the helm, bamboos, ropes and other implements are mentioned. The pilot was incharge of the ship. Among other workers, boatmen, helmsmen and crew are mentioned. Various types of boats and ships were in use.⁴ The *Nisītha Bhāṣya* has recorded four types of boats (i) which went along the current of a river, (ii) sailed against the current, (iii) sailed from one shore to another directly, (iv) embarked in the sea. The last one was used for the journey from Teyālapattana (modern Veraval) to Dvārakā.⁵ The boat having a hole at the bottom was filled with water and hence could not be used for crossing a river, it was called āśrāviṇī.⁶ In order to make the boat stationary, one end of the rope was fastened to the boat and another to the tree or an iron pillar, standing at the river bank. If there was a hole in the boat, it was plugged with a lump of pounded *darbha* grass, bark or cloth.⁷ The *Angaviṣṭā* gives an important list of boats and ships, some of which are Greek names referred to by Periplus in his *Erythean Sea*. In this list, *Koṭṭimba*, *tappaka*, and *sanghada* have been identified by Motichandra, with

¹ *Sūya Tī*, 1, 11, 196

² *Āva Cū*, 511

³ *Brh Bhā*, 1 3083 f

⁴ *Nāya*, 8, 98; *Ācā*, II 3, 1 342, *Nisī Bhā.*, 18 6015; *LAI*, 118.

⁵ *Nisī. Bhā Pī*, 183, also *Nisī. Sū.*, 18. 12-13 For other references see Jagdish Chandra Jain, Trade and Commerce in Ancient India, pp. 49f, *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, XVII, No. 1, Calcutta, 1977-78.

⁶ *Uttarā*, 23.7

⁷ *Nisī. Sū.*, 18. 10-13; 18. 6017 *Cū*.

cotymba, *trappage* and *sagar ships* in respective order, mentioned by Periplus.¹ The *Āvatyaka Cūṛi* has referred to sixteen kinds of sea-wind, the knowledge of which was necessary for pilots for successful navigation. The cyclone known as *kālikāvāta* was dangerous for sea-voyage. The western wind, free from *kālikāvāta* was considered favourable for a successful voyage.² It is stated that a wealthy merchant should stay only at a place where he feels secure, otherwise his life was in danger and there was no safety of wealth. One should live there where there is a virtuous king, efficient in the science of morality; a competent physician, versed in the science of medicine; a rich man possessing of gold and precious jewels; a prominent person having various kinds of grains in his stock; and a guardian of justice, skilled in various sciences of morality, not disposed to bribery and impartial in his judgements.³

EDUCATION AND LEARNING

Various details with regard to teachers and pupils, student life, routine for study, curriculum, arts and crafts, centres of learning, etc., are provided in Prakrit Jain texts.⁴ The *Kuvalayamālā* has given us information regarding educational institutions or residential schools (*maṭha*) as they were called. Students from Lāṭa, Karmāṭaka, Mālava, Kannauja, Golla, Maharashtra, Saurashtra, Dhakka, Śrīkanṭha (Thāneśvara) and Sindha assembled in these schools for the purpose of study. The branches of learning included archery, waving of sword and shield, waving of knife, throwing of spear, fighting with stick, arms and fists, drawing and painting, music, playing of instruments, dancing, dramatic performance, and so on. The course of study they pursued was grammar, Buddhism, Sāṃkhya, Vaiśeṣika, Mīmāṃsā, Nyāya, the philosophy of Anekāntavāda and Lokāyata. Various arts such as *nimitta*, *mantra*, *yoga*, *añjana*, black magic (*kuhaka*), *dhātuvāda*, *yaksini-siddhi*, military science (*kṣātra*), *yoga-mālā*, *yantramālā*, *gāruḍavidyā*, *jyotiṣa*, *svapnavidyā*, *rasabandha*,

¹*Āṅgavijjā*, Introduction, 49.

²p. 512.

³*Vya Bha.*, I, pt. 3, 127-32. See *Āṅgavijjā*, 43, 191-92 where details with regard to travel such as mode of walking, use of shoes, umbrellas and conveyances etc., are given.

⁴See *LAI*, 169-74.

rasāyana, metre (*chanda*), *vr̥tti*, *nirukta*, *patracchedya*, *indrajāla*, ivory work (*dantakṛt*), mouldelling (*lepyakarma*), painting work in gold (*kanakakarma*), science of antidotes (*viṣagaratantra*), demnology (*bhūtatatantra*) and others. Here we get glimpses of students who were given solely to the study of the *Vedas*, who were of robust sturdy body, with developed muscles, living by rough exercises, a care-free life and were of violent dispositions. They were a set of fools and bereft of upright morals¹

STOCK PHRASES AND READY-MADE MATERIAL

There are innumerable terms and expressions noted in Jain texts in the form of stock phrases and ready-made material for setting them up wherever needed. These terms are very useful to link up the socio-economic history of ancient Indian people. It is necessary to study them critically as they are rarely found in other literature. Many of these terms are recorded in the original *Sūtras* and the Jain writers have tried to preserve the ancient traditions through their commentaries. While interpreting a particular term, at times they differ from each other, and at places old traditions have been cited in support of their explanation.

In this connection, mention must be made of the *Angavijjā* which has an intrinsic value as a perpetual source of Indian literary and cultural history. It provides us an important long list of beds, seats, conveyances, household architecture, various terms pertaining to architecture, men and their relatives, garlands, flowers, vegetables, unguents, perfumes, food, drink, textiles, clothing material, ornaments, precious stones, utensils, pots and pans, grains, storage jars, officers, professions, festivals, stars and planets, *gotras*, coins, gods and goddesses, ancient Indian cities, cattle, birds, reptiles, fishes, frogs, worms, shrubs, creepers, trees and so on. This work is a treasure-house of cultural material related to the history of early centuries of the Christian era. A major part of the material is unknown to scholars and is rarely available in Vedic or Buddhist literature. Fragments of certain terms and their explanation are found in the *Bhāṣya* and *Cūṛṇī* literature, particularly the *Niṣītha*

¹150, 18-151, 16, V S. Agrawala, A Cultural Note, 124; For other details see *LAI*, 169ff.

Cūrṇī and in the commentaries of canonical literature by Haridra, Śīlāṅka, Malayagiri, Abhayadeva, Maladhāri Hemacandra and others.¹

¹See Jagdish Chandra Jain, 'Jain Agam Granthon ki Mahatvapūrṇa Shabdasūchiyān,' *Nāgarīpracāriṇī Patrikā*, Year 59, Samvat 2011, 3-4, 295-305; 'Ardhamagadhī Āgama Sāhitya ki Viśiṣṭa Shabdāvalī, *Sanskrit-Prakrit Vyākaraṇ Aur Kosh ki Paramparā*, Acharya Shri Kālugaṇi Smṛitigranth, Chapar, 1977.

Chapter 8

General Survey

THE STUDY OF PRAKRIT JAIN NARRATIVE LITERATURE

Prakrit Jain literature is very vast, much of which is not available and much more remains yet to be published. But whatever remains in the form of canonical texts, their commentaries and post-canonical independent literature, is very useful from the point of view of reconstructing the socio-economic life of ancient Indian society.

1. Teachings of Mahavira (6th century BC) are available in Jain canons composed in Ardhamagadhi. The canonical texts do not belong to one particular period. Each part of the text should be judged on its own merit after going through the contents carefully. As there were no writing facilities in those days, Mahavira's disciples learnt the Master's teachings by heart. They employed all sorts of words, fixed phrases, conventional descriptions and stereotype terms. But as there were controversies and differences of opinion amongst them about the teachings, conferences were convened to settle the canonical texts. Though the redactional work of these texts started in Pāṭali-putra, 160 years after Mahavira's *nirvāṇa* in 367 BC, the final redaction took place only in the 5th century AD in Valabhi, (Saurashtra).¹

2. The *Nāyādhammakahāo* (Jñātṛdharmakathā or the stories of Jñātṛputra Mahavira) is said to have been a collection of stories narrated by Mahavira. It is said that the original work contained three and a half crores of stories and the same number of sub-stories.

¹In this connection the remarks of Lord Raglan are noteworthy: "A code of laws is always the product of hundreds or thousands of years of gradual development, and is never the work of one man." He has quoted Sir James Frazer in the support of his statement, according to whom, the Ten Commandments in their familiar form, could have had nothing to do with Moses, since the original Ten Commandments, whoever first wrote them down, were entirely different, Alan Dundes, *The Study of Folklore*, 155.

(which may be an exaggeration), yet even according to tradition, the present available work is different from the original. Its language and style do not seem to be as old as the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*. As far as the style of ancient Jain texts is concerned, it is straight and simple and reminiscent of old tradition. The stories or incidents narrated here have characteristic features and can be compared with ancient Pali texts. The stories have a classic beginning in the form of 'at that time,' 'in that period' (*teṇaṃ kālenaṃ teṇaṃ samayenaṃ*) and there is plenty of repetition in the narration.¹ However, the earliest Prakrit story goes back to the 6th century BC.

3. The commentary literature is important because without explanation it is not possible to interpret canonical texts. This literature is equally vast and important as it has preserved important traditions and stock lists and legends which would otherwise have been lost. The oldest explanatory literature on the sacred texts is represented by *Niryuktis* which consists of a brief explanation in verses. This literature belongs to the 5th or 6th century AD. Next comes the *Bhāṣyas* which is also a concise explanation in verses. The *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya*, the *Niśītha Bhāṣya* and the *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya* are most important as they contain valuable cultural material. The *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* has been critically edited by late Muni Punyavijayaji. This literature belongs to about the 5th century AD. The *Cūrṇi* literature on the whole is written in Prakrit, but in a varying degree it is interspersed with Sanskrit. Out of the available *Cūrṇis* the *Niśītha Cūrṇi* and the *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi* are most significant as they contain various important traditions and beliefs. The author of the *Niśītha Cūrṇi* particularly gives precise definitions and explanations of terms and expressions, besides recording customs and practices of various regions. This literature needs a critical treatment at the hands of scholars. The *Cūrṇi* texts were composed in about the 7th century AD. The *Tikā* literature, composed in Sanskrit, is considerably large. Various *Tikās*, *Vivṛtis*, *Dīpikās*, *Vivaraṇas* etc., were composed from time to time, from the 8th century AD to 17th century AD explaining and expanding the meaning of the *Sūtras*. Amongst these commentators Haribhadraśūri (8th century AD), Vādivetāla Śāntisūri (11th

¹Pointing out the law of efficacy in a folk-tale, myth or legend, Axel Olrick has pointed out, "It is necessary not only to build tension, but to fill out the body of the narrative." Alan Dundes, op. cit., 131.

century AD), Nemicandrasūri, also known as Devendragani (11th century AD), Abhayadevasūri, Droṇācārya, Maladhāri Hemacandra and Malayagiri (all 12th century AD) can be mentioned. These works cover a vast range of time and contain rich variety of tales, embodying cultural material inserted in-between the religious teachings.

Thus the canonical literature contains a great mass of popular narrative themes which are very helpful in the study of ancient Indian history. Jain monks converted these themes into legends of saints elucidating tenets of Jainism through examples and illustrations.

4. In the post-canonical literature, Jain writers developed the narrative themes independently. They composed independent epics, novels, dramas and hymns without depending on canonical tenets. Numerous tales and stories were assimilated from Brahmanical and general Indian literature for exaltation of their doctrines. Jain writers were in search of interesting narratives from whatever source they could get and incorporate them in their teachings. The post-canonical literature comprises didactic story literature and biographical literature, covering the life-story of "Great Personalities."

5. The beginning of Christian era has been a landmark in the history of Prakrit Jain Narrative Literature. The *Taraṅgavaikahā* by Pādaliptasūri, the *Vasudevahindī* by Sanghadāsaganī Vācaka, the *Majjhimakhanda* by Dharmasenaganī, the *Dhuttakkhāṇa* (different from that of Haribhadra) and others were composed between the 2nd and the 5th century AD. Udyotanasūri in his *Kuvalayamālā* (8th century AD) has referred to Pādalipta's *Taraṅgavaikahā*, Hāla's *Gāthākoṣa* (*Gāthāsaptasatī*), Guṇādhyā's *Baddakahā* (*Bṛhatkathā*), Vimalasūri's *Paumacariya*, Devagupta's *Supurusacariya* Harivarsa's *Sulocanākathā*, Haribhadrasūri's *Samaramiyaṅkakahā* (*Samarāṅgakahā*), and others, some of these works are not available. Dharmadāsaganī's *Uvaesamālā*, Haribhadrasūri's *Uvaesapada*, Jayasimhasūri's *Dharmopadeśamālāvivarana*, Śīlāṅka's *Cauppannamahāpurisacariya*, Pradyumnasūri's *Mūlasuddhi-prakarana* etc., can be added to the list. These works were composed between the 5th and 10th century AD.

6. The 11th and 12th century AD was a golden period for the composition of Prakrit Jain Narrative Literature. During this period the Śvetāmbara Jain authors, inspired by influential Jain rulers, ministers, generals and *śreṣṭhis* of Gujarat, Malwa and Rajasthan, composed a large number of works containing long and short narratives.

Some of these important works include the *Kahāṇayakosa* by Jinē-varasūri, the *Akkhāṇamaṇikosa* by Nemicaṇḍra, the *Kahārayanākosa*, the *Pāsaṇḍhacariya* and the *Mahavīracariya* by Guṇacandragaṇi, the *Kahāvālī* by Bharateśvara, the *Bhāvabhāvanā* and the *Upadeśamālā-prakarana* by Maladhāri Hemacandra, the *Surasundarīcariya* by Dhaneśvara and the like. Thus the literature went on growing and developing till the 15th century AD.¹ Dr. Hertel has observed that right up from the medieval period Jains have been the prominent story writers.² Undoubtedly, the material contained in this literature is very significant and should be properly utilised for the study of Indian folk-tales.

7. The development of this literature reached its summit between the 11th and 15th century AD. It was during this period that under the royal dynasties some important *Kathākośas* (Treasury of Stories) were composed by illustrious Jain writers. The post-canonical Prakrit Jain Narrative Literature is of great importance not only to the students of comparative religion but also for the reason that it provides a vivid picture of the life of most varied class of people. In this literature preference was given to the stories pertaining to real life instead of mythological legendary accounts of Brahmanic Purāṇas. Rationalistic attitude was introduced in the story of Jain Rāmāyaṇa. It provided adventurous accounts of trading merchants, thieves and robbers, mendicants and beggars, virtuous women, prostitutes and bawds, astrologers; witch-doctors, slave boys, maid servants, popular deities, common festivals, and customs and practices prevalent in different regions. We read here about the lot of a poor virtuous man, a blind helpless beggar, domestic quarrel, struggle of virtuous women, who were forced to lead a life of lewdness, a widow who was made to accept slavery of a grocer, hired labourer, nurses and so on. Fascinating scenes are recorded depicting the wheel of worldly existence: people suffering from various diseases, the relatives and friends crying and lamenting, the bier being carried to the burning ground and setting of fire to the corpse. In the didactic narrative literature the religious tone dominates. Numerous popular interesting tales, elaborating the teachings of Mahavira have been inserted here. The whole

¹ PSI, 356-524.

² On the Literature of Śvetāmbaras of Gujarat, 11.

literature has been made fascinating by introducing witty tales, anecdotes, eloquent speeches, didactic verses, witty sayings, riddles, including various other literary forms. It is made interesting through the examples of birds, animals, insects, trees and plants. There is a vast biographical literature which besides narrating the life story of 63 great personalities, depicts the life of numerous ascetic heroes, eminent teachers, patriarchs, renowned saints and authors, merchant-princes and others, who served the cause of Jain religion. A life story of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa is introduced here. This tendency of narrating a biographical account of distinguished personalities and celebrated persons continued in Sanskrit, Apabhramśa, Tamil, Kannaḍa, Old Hindi, Old Gujarati, Rajasthani and so on. The compilation of *Kathākośas* from time to time, plays a significant role in the development of Prakrit Jain Narrative Literature. The narratives contained here either are taken from earlier texts, or developed out of them, or composed independently based on popular tales. The tradition of compilation of *Kathākośas* also continued in other languages.

THE GENESIS OF PRAKRIT JAIN NARRATIVE LITERATURE, ITS GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

1. Folklore is the earliest form of romantic and imaginative unwritten literature of primitive people all over the world. It is a part of culture which includes, knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by men as a member of society. Folklore is primarily based on early conventions, ideas and beliefs which give rise to short narratives which might be called story germs. These germs develop into a story and later form a part of narratives. Prakrit Jain Narrative Literature has elements of folklore. Here the tales handed down from generation to generation have been transferred and adapted to suit the new environment expressing new feelings and thoughts. India had been a land of tales. She has played an important role in the history of world literature with her numerous stories migrating abroad. The entire stories or story traits go on repeating themselves throughout Indian Literature. We have traits of new feelings and thoughts which continue in Prakrit, Sanskrit, Apabhramśa, Old Hindi and Old Gujarati literature. "The beginnings of fictional ideas are not revealed by existing literature, and are doubtless with primitive folklore ideas of which we have no record."

These stories and tales had been in existence long before they found their entry into literature. These tales first of all found their place in Prakrit literature.

2. The material contained in folk-tales is pre-historic which centres around strange customs, magic, sorcery, talking animals and helpful beasts—everything familiar to the savages. Primitive man framed stories about his birth, death, heaven, the region below the earth, destruction of the world, disease and its cure, deities and so on. These stories and anecdotes reflected everyday beliefs and customs of the savages which might appear irrational to us, but were credible to them. In fact, these stories helped primitive man to escape from the hardships of life, to gain freedom from guilt and punishment and to lead a life full of vitality.

3. These folk-tales were very simple, endowed with secular elements, therefore they were devoid of any moral or teaching. Simple wishes and fears of the people were expressed in these tales and they had nothing to do with elaborate philosophical, spiritual or artistic speculation. A story-teller simply narrated the things which he saw around him, emphasised certain events and put them in a dramatic manner making the audience spell-bound. These stories were free from any sectional or regional touch and not bound by any caste, creed or colour, they could be accommodated by any religious teacher or saint. Later, these tales were transformed into the tales of morality, forming a part of didactic literature due to the social demand of the time.

4. Once the folk-tales, fairy tales and animal tales were transformed into tales of morality, the narrative literature started growing. Stories were divided into various categories and Jain authors got an opportunity to embellish their teachings with narratives related to love, acquiring of wealth, wit, humour, wise people, artless simple fools, rogues, scoundrels, prostitutes, bawds and so on. It is stated that the stories related to love were not without purpose as they were conducive to virtuous life. Jain authors made their religion popular among mercantile community by writing stories related to earning of wealth. They have provided thrilling stories of daring merchants, who at the risk of their life set out for a difficult journey, returning with plenty of precious gems and jewels. Regarding the tales of fools and stupid fellows, it is stated that by listening to such tales the listener can guard himself against victimisation of their tricks.

5. Jains also wrote secular works like the *Pañcatantra*. The *Pañcā-khyāna* of Pūrṇabhadrasūri became a part of world literature so much that the readers, including Jains themselves, forgot the Jain origin of the work. Jain authors incorporated numerous stories from the *Veṭālapañcaviṃśatikā*, the *Śukasaptatikā* and other popular works and made them a part of their religious teaching. They exploited the story of the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya and assimilated its contents.

6. With a view to edification, Jain authors often improved on popular tales. The story of Nala and Davadantī (Damayantī) told in the *Kathakośa* furnished an admirable instances of this statement. This can be considered a contribution in the field of the science of folklore as pointed out by Tawney.¹ The *Kathāratnākara* of Hemavijaya (1600 AD), comprising 258 stories, is written in elaborate Sanskrit prose, interspersed with Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhraṃśa, Old Hindi and Old Gujarati stanzas. Most of the tales contained here are similar to those of the *Pañcatantra*, including tales of artfulness of women, tales of rogues, tales of fools and various other fables and fairy-tales of interest. It contains sayings from the *Bharatphariśataka*, *Pañcatantra* and other non-Jain popular works.² The *Vinodakathāsaṅgraha* of Maladhāri Rājasekhara has been influenced by *Pañcatantra* in style and subject-matter, comprising delightful stories which later on gained popularity in the name of Akbar and Birbal. The *Uttamacaritakathānaka* or "The Story of the Life of (Prince) Most Excellent" by an unknown author is a fairy-tale full of most wonderful adventures ** The *Pāla-Gopāla Kathānaka* by Jinakīrti (15th century AD) comprises a story of two brothers who go on their wanderings and after many adventures attain honour and fame.** The *Aghaṭakumārakathā* by an anonymous author is a story of prince Aghata which is based on the fairy-tale of the lucky child and the fatal letter which has been exchanged.** The *Campakaśreṣṭhikathānaka*, another work by Jinakīrti, comprises the story of the

¹Tawney, Introduction to *Kathakośa*, p. xxi

²It was translated into German by J. Hertel in 1920. Recently a beautiful revised edition under the title "*Das Perlenmeer*" (*The Sea of Pearls*) with an attractive jacket in colour in Devanagari script has been published in the German Democratic Republic (1979).

**These stories are included in "*Der Prinz als Papagei*" (*The Prince as a Parrot*) published in the German Democratic Republic (Berlin, 1975) with an introduction by Roland Beer.

merchant Campaka. Several stories are inserted in the main story. In the last sub-story, a merchant who had hitherto deceived everyone, was deceived by a courtesan.** The *Ratnacūḍa-Kathā* by Jñāna-sāgarasūri (middle of the second half of the 15th century AD) is a story of Ratnacūḍa, containing the witty and entertaining story of the city of rogues where the king "Unjust" rules, the prime minister is "Unwise," the priest is "Restless" and in which only thieves, rogues and cheats reside. There are several inserted stories in the main framework of the narrative. In one story, the prostitute's mother narrates four excellent stories. Then there is a story of clever Rohaka** which can be compared with Mahosadha Paṇḍita story of the *Mahā-Ummagga-Jātaka*.

7. The present Jain narrative literature has influenced the literature of mediaeval period. The love story of king Ratnaśekhara of Ratnapura and the princess Ratnavatī of Sīṃhaladvīpa, narrated in the *Rayanaseharikahā* of Jinaharṣagaṇi (15th century AD), for example, has influenced the story of the *Padmāvatī* of Malik Muhammad Jayṣi.¹ In Jain tradition, one of Sītā's co-wives requested her to draw a painting of Rāvaṇa. After she did it, it was shown to Rāma which caused her banishment. This tradition has been preserved in the folk-songs of Braj dialect.² The *Mahāvīracarīya* of Guṇacandraśūri (11th century AD) contains the story of prince Naravikrama, who separated from his wife and children undergoes hardships and ultimately is united with them. This story is noticed in several versions of a Gujarati folk-tale, known as Candanamalayagiri.³ Between the 12th and the 15th century AD, Jains have composed a number of stories about the life of king Vikramāditya of Ujjain. In these stories, the king has been converted to a Jain saint, who cannot refuse the request of any beggar and is ready to sacrifice himself for others. The *Pañcadaṇḍacchatrakathā* of Vikramāditya has been popular with Jains. A later work known as *Pañcadaṇḍātmaṃ Vikramacaritraṃ*

**These stories are included in "Der Prinz als Papagei" (*The Prince as a Parrot*) published in the German Democratic Republic (Berlin, 1975) with an introduction by Roland Beer.

¹PSI, 482 ff

²For Jain tradition, see *Upadeśapada*, PSI, 496-97 and footnote. The story is also recorded in the *Kahāvalī* of Bhadrēśvara, JSBI, VI, 70.

³Ramesh N. Jani's article "Jain and Non-Jain versions of the popular Tale of Chandana-Malayagiri from Prakrit and other Early Sources," *Mahāvira Vidyālaya Suvarnamahotsava Grantha*, Bombay.

was composed by Rāmacandra in the 15th century AD. The language used here is not pure Sanskrit but is mixed with popular Marwari dialect.¹

THE STUDY OF MOTIFS

1. The enormous variety and richness of motifs in Prakrit Jain Narrative Literature reflects a state of culture through which it has passed. The motifs are mainly based on popular folk-tales and the variety of them noticed in Prakrit tales establish their relationship with world literature. The study of these motifs is helpful in tracing the common origin of world-wide story literature, the development of stories and how they are linked with international relationship and which of the stories at what stage, transmigrated to the other part of the world. Unfortunately, much of the precious material that was of curiosity and interest has been entirely lost to us, and is disappearing fast under the impact of urbanisation, and scientific and technological advancement. In the circumstances, whatever little remains in the form of primitive manners, customs, observances, superstitions, ballads and proverbs of olden times, has to be rescued with great effort. A yeoman service has been rendered in this field by a number of western scholars. Besides the 266 tales contained in the *village Folk-tales of Ceylon* (in three parts) by H Parker, 3000 stories from India and adjacent countries like Ceylon, Tibet, Burma and Malay Peninsula have been published. These stories are of folk-tale types, including myths, hero legends, fables, drolls, märchen of all sorts, cumulative stories and ballads.²

MAGICAL PRACTICES

1. Magic plays an important role in the life of primitive people. Magical practices go back to primitive days when human being had no control over natural forces and had to lead a difficult life for want of food and shelter. Magical practices became so popular that

¹Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, III, pt 1, 377, *JSBI*, VI, 374-80

²W. Norman Brown, 'The Relation of Modern Indian Folk-tales to Literature,' 1-54, *JAOS*, 39. In part II of the article, the author deals with the *Pañcatantra* stories represented in the Hindu folk-lore; Part III contains discussion of individual stories. In Appendix, Bibliography of Indian Folk-tales (43-54) is provided.

Jain monks could not afford to neglect them. Our study of magical practices and supernatural powers in Prakrit Jain literature shows that Jains developed a close affinity with tribal people more than any other Indian religion. In this connection the following points are noteworthy.

2. There are widespread remnants of tribal relationship with Indian people, including Jains and Buddhists. Magadha, the birth-place of Mahavira, was surrounded by various tribes and clans. Mahavira himself belonged to the clan of Vajjis which had a republican Government. There was a strong unity among the clans and their administrative and judicial business was conducted in their public assemblies. The idea of *saṅgha* and *gaṇa* in Jainism was very likely modelled on the lines of tribal organisation and unity.

3. The Mountain Sammedaśikhara or Malla Parvata (Parasnath Hill in Hazaribagh district), situated in south of Bihar, is a holy place for Jains. This hilly area is surrounded by tribal people such as the Mundas, the Santhalas, the Orāons, the Bhuiyas and others. Pārśvanātha, who attained *nirvāṇa* on this mountain, must have made this area a centre of his activities. The worship of Marang Buru (or Barpāhārī), the mountain deity of the Mundas, is popular here. The Mahā-pāt or the great Pāt was another mountain deity worshipped by tribal people. The worship of Manasā, the serpent deity, was popular among the tribes of Birbhum and Bankura districts. It is noteworthy that the serpent is considered a symbol of Pārśvanātha. During his ascetic career Mahavira is also said to have travelled in the country of Lāḍha (West Bengal) which has been described as *duścara* or pathless. The tribal people of this land covered their body with grass, and because of eating coarse food, were cruel by nature. They ill-treated ascetics and set their dogs on them. While travelling in this region Mahavira is said to have suffered extreme hardships.

4. Magical lores are associated with tribal people. Mention of the *vidyās* such as the *Pārvaṭī*, the *Vamśalatā* and the *Vṛkṣamūlikā* shows that the magical spells were associated with mountains, bamboo-creepers and trees, usually the dwelling places of tribal people. Mountains had special significance in Jainism as stated above. They have been referred to as places for accomplishing magic lores in ancient Jain texts. When Rṣabha was practising penance on Aṣṭāpada (Kailas) mountain, Nami and Vinami approached him and the *vidyās* were bestowed on them. They were known as *vidyādharas* (holders of

magic art) and enjoyed pleasures like divine beings on the mountain region. Later, they honoured Ṛṣabha by installing his image in their cities and assembly-halls. Besides mountains and hills, the *vidyās* were achieved in bamboo-groves and dense forests.

5. It is noteworthy that the *vidyās* were related to the tribal people: the Śābaras, the Pulindas, the Rākṣasa, the Vānaras, the Dravīdas, the Gāndhāras, the Kalmīgas, the Mātāṅgas, the Ḍombas and the Śvapākas. The *Vidyās* were executed by assuming the form of a Kāpālīka, a Mātāṅga, a Rākṣasa, a Vānara, a Pulinda or a Śābara. The Śābarī *vidyā* could be accomplished by assuming the appearance of a Śābara, covering the body with bark and leaves, holding bow and arrow in hand and tying up the tuft of hair with creepers and leaves. The accomplisher's wife wore a garland of *gunjā* fruits and looked like a Śābara woman. The accomplishers of the *vidyā* paid homage to the image of Ṛṣabha which was installed in a mountain-cave.

6 Like the Śābaras, the Mātāṅgas (Māṅg in Marathi) had been another important tribe ranked with the Ḍombas (Ḍom in Hindi), the Śvapākas, the Cāṇḍālas and others. The Mātāṅgas are said to have belonged to a *vidyādhara* clan, skilled in magic art. The *Mātāṅgī* and the *Śvapākī* *vidyās* are noted along with the *Pārvaī*, the *Vamśalatā* and the *Vṛkṣamūlikā*. The Mātāṅgas and the Ḍombas are said to have their own Yakṣas. The Mātāṅga Yakṣa has been mentioned as a presiding deity of a Tirthankara. But it seems that in course of time, the rank of the Mātāṅgas was lowered like other tribal people. The *Mātāṅgī Vidyā* like the *Gaurī* and *Gāndhārī* was considered despised as it was difficult to be acquired. Still, it is interesting to note that their importance as magic masters could not be overlooked. It is said that the *vidyādharas* were required to associate with the so-called low class people, who were supposed to know how to win the ear of a goddess. The idea of the goddess Mātāṅgī or Mādīgā, a pariah woman of the South, stands in support of our view.

7. The Mātāṅgas, the Śvapākas, the Kīrātās, the Pulindas, the Śābaras and other Indian tribes were aborigines, the native inhabitants of this land. But in course of time, by caste ridden Hindu domination, they were deprived of their dignity and were forced to lead a degraded life by eating dead animals, cooking dog's flesh, carrying dead bodies, executing criminals and so on.

8. Hills and forests are custodians of our primitive past which

abound in rich heritage of Indian culture. Due to urbanisation and spread of modern science and technology, many of the ancient traditions and customs are disappearing fast, yet whatever has remained can be fruitful in the study of ancient society.

9. Here we have the association of magical spells with Rābha, Dharapendra, the mountain-cave, the dense forest and the tribal people. The Tribal people identify themselves with birds, beasts, plants and insects around them. They lived on terms of fellowship with nature, gods and spirits. The motto of their life was to live peacefully with neighbours, never quarrel with them and never desire to possess their property. This might have been in the background of the principle of compassionate feeling towards all living beings advocated by Jainism.

ASCETICISM

1. The beginning of asceticism can be traced in the social and religious life of tribal people. In order to have control over natural forces they employed certain techniques involving bodily pain. They observed certain magical practices to ward off dangers caused by natural forces. This involved fasting, abstinence from specific food, cutting a part of the body, circumcision and so on. These practices can be compared with fasting, meditating in standing posture, retiring to a secluded place, observing silence, abstinence from specific food on certain days or for whole life and so on, enjoined by Jainism.

2. Various motifs have been employed to expand and elucidate asceticism. Various causes of renunciation have been mentioned: renunciation out of anger, poverty, humiliation, loss of children, failure in love, want of a suitable match, escape from mother-in-law, apprehension from king, indebtedness and so on. In order to overcome the effect of discontent and unpleasantness in public, the royal families supported asceticism by participating in renunciation ceremony. State support was declared in the family members of those who had joined the ascetic order. In those days of insecurity, tyranny, lawlessness and inequality between man and man, perhaps to enter into the order of ascetics was considered to be the best remedy for all sufferings of the world. On the other hand, criminals, thieves and robbers, child-lifters, debtors poverty-stricken people, desperate women, aged people, and those disgusted with life, joined the monastic order, thereby raising

their status. Women were the worst sufferers. The monks often fell prey to the charms and beauty of women. Under the circumstances, in order to guard asceticism, women have to be condemned and declared as fickle-minded, treacherous, faithless and intriguing. A woman was stated to be the cause of all sufferings and one who could keep away from her, was called a true hero.

POPULAR DEITIES

1. In order to ward off natural calamities, misfortune and unhappiness, primitive people worshipped trees, animals, rivers, earth, sky, quarters, hills, mountains, caves and so on. Jains could not afford to neglect the popular deities. Besides mentioning sylvan, sea, plough, mountain, hill, tree, river, earth, tank and other popular deities, Jains have referred to Vedic deities such as *pitara*, *preta*, *Soma*, *Candra*, *Śiva* (lord of cows, buffaloes and sheep), *Vaiśramana* (patron god of merchants), *Varuna* (lord of seas), *Skanda* (associated with sheep, ram and sword), *Agni*, *Kāma*, *Rātri* (night), *Divasa* (day), and so on. Among others, the goddess of direction, of intellect, of creepers, of objects, of city, of crematorium, of a place of voiding excrement (*verca*), of dung-hill and so on, have been mentioned. Some of the goddess are of non-Indian origin.

2. Four great festivals, the festival in honour of *Indra*, *Skanda*, *Yakṣa* and *Bhūta* were celebrated with great pomp and rejoicing. The festival of *Indra* was so popular in *Maharashtra* that in order to honour the popular opinion, Jain teachers preferred to change the day of the *Paryūṣana* from the fifth day of the bright half of *bhādrapada* (the day of *Indra's* festival) to the fourth day. This shows how much Jains had care for public opinion. Jains also accepted the cult of *Yakṣa*. *Yaksas* were installed as the guardian deities of *Tirthankaras*, and no Jain temple was considered safe without their presence. The description of *Pūrṇabhadra* shrine in *Campā* has formed a part of an ancient Jain text. *Pūrṇabhadra* and *Mañibhadra*, the two popular *Yakṣa*, are said to have attended upon *Mahavira*. The *Yakṣa* images were cleaned, washed, wiped and dressed nicely. Numerous *Yaksas* have been mentioned in Prakrit Jain texts which can be a part of a separate study. The cult of *Nāga* was another cult of antiquity. According to Jain tradition, king *Bhagīratha*, the grandson of sovereign king *Bharata*, is said to have been

the founder of *Nāgabali*. Dharendra, a powerful king of Nāgas, is highly respected by Jains. He is said to have bestowed various *vidyās* upon a group of people, who installed his image in their law-court. The worship of *caitya*-tree is of an age-old tradition. Jain Tirthankaras are provided with a holy tree under which they are said to have attained omniscience. The Bhavanavāsi and Vyantara gods have been assigned the *caitya*-trees. Goddess Kātyāyanī is mentioned whose favour led to success in endeavours, victory in battles and acquiring wealth.

SECULAR WRITING

Jain writers incorporated popular motifs, myths and legends, popular deities, magical practices, superstitions, etc., in their compositions. They did not write only on mathematics, grammar, poetics, metre, astronomy, astrology, and so on, but also produced valuable treatises on politics, medicine, music, archery and personal hygiene and toilet. Among other popular topics, mention may be made of art of courtesans, science of foretelling by casting dice, science of omens, mining, cooking testing of precious stones, testing of coins; science of constructing buildings, training of horses and elephants, and the science of birds and animals. A large number of secular Prakrit works are still lying in manuscript form awaiting publication. The publication of these works will certainly bring out valuable features of our past history and culture.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

1. In the beginning, the activities of Jain monks were confined to the length and breadth of Magadha which included modern Bihar, Orissa and Bengal. Mahavira had travelled through the country of Lāḍha (West Bengal) and its surrounding area, but it seems, he was not very successful in spreading his teachings amongst the tribal people, the inhabitants of this region. Later, Mahavira restricted the movements of his monks to a part of eastern and western region of Uttar Pradesh. But if the religion of the Master had to make a headway, it had to be spread far and wide. Later, it was through the untiring endeavours and patience of Jain *śramanas* that Jainism could reach as far as the regions of Saurashtra and Sindhu-Sovira

in west and the territory of southern India. Travelling by land or sea was most difficult in those days; there were organised bands of robbers and dacoits, anarchy prevailed due to political disturbance in the country when the *sādhus* were mistaken for spies and arrested, there was famine, flood, pestilence, and it was not easy to get dwelling shelter for Jain ascetics. Under the circumstances, it was at the risk of violation of their long-cherished vows that Jain *sramanas* travelled from north to south and from east to west and propagated the Master's teaching with utmost fervour. In this connection a critical study of the *Cheadsūtras* and their commentaries will prove very fruitful. The monks were supposed to be acquainted with the customs and practices of the countries which they visited. This valuable information has been recorded in the commentaries of ancient Jain texts.

2. Trade and commerce played an important role in the spread of Jainism. Jain authors have taken notes of various details with regard to trade routes, system of transaction, export and import, means of communication, sea-voyage and so on. Here we get a glimpse of different dialects spoken by merchants; different people, their temperament, habits, built of the body, and so on. There were traders' associations, and the members after returning from their journey narrated their experiences in the field of trade, and the nature, value and volume of commodity in which they were interested. The merchants coming from outside were given reception by the association when perfumes, betels and garlands were offered to them. We have an elaborate description of a *sārtha* or caravan in Jain texts.

3. The merchants made an adventurous journey by sea and visited various foreign lands. We get numerous important reference in Jain texts about our contacts with Greeks. Yavana or Greece has been described as a beautiful land and a treasure-house of excellent gems and jewels. Greek artists were endowed with mechanical skill. Female servants were brought from this country. In a Greek city there lived a group of 700 prostitutes under one leader. They earned their wages for their mistresses; one-third or one-fourth of it was paid to the royal treasury.

4. Jain texts also provide us with details of maritime trade. Various types of boats have been mentioned, some of which have been identified with their Greek counterparts. Educational institutions or residential schools were in existence where students from

different parts of the country assembled to study various branches of learning.

5. The *Angavijjā* contains an important list of various kinds of beds, seats, household architecture, food, drink, vegetables, flowers, garlands, textiles, utensils, ornaments, coins, gods and goddesses, festivals, *gotras*, stars and planets, officers, artisans, professions, birds, animals, worms, insects, trees, plants, creepers and so on. This work is a treasure-house of cultural material related to the history of early centuries of Christian era. A major portion of the material is almost unknown and is not available in Vedic or Buddhist literature.¹

¹See Introduction to *Angavijjā* by Moti Chandra and V.S. Agrawala.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

NEED FOR COMPARATIVE STUDY

In narrating certain stories, Jain writers differ from their fellow writers and quoted ancient authorities in their support. A comparative and chronological study of these stories can throw a light on their origin and growth. Here is furnished a comparative study of a few stories.

The Story of Agadadatta

This story first appears in the *Vasudevahindī*¹ (c. 3rd century AD). It is noticed in Vādivetāla Śāntisūri's (death in 1040 AD) commentary on the *Uttarādhyayana*, known as *Pāṇya-Tīkā*. Here the *Vasudevahindī* story appears in an abridged form, the commentator has called it as handed down from tradition (*vrddhavāda*)² The same story is found in Nemīcandra's commentary on the *Uttarādhyayana*, known as *Sukhabodhā* (completed in 1073 AD). The story narrated here is in 329 *gāthās*, the author has referred to some old tradition (*vrddhavāda*).³ The story is somewhat different from what we have in the *Vasudevahindī*. Since the story is narrated in verses, it does not seem to be very old. Some unknown work named *Agadadattacarita* must have been the source of the *Vasudevahindī* story. Taking into consideration the primitive names such as Agadadatta (given by pond), Bhujāṅgama (snake) and Arjunaka (a plant), Alsdorf thinks that the story must have been of great antiquity.⁴ A comparative and critical study of different versions of the story can lead us to some definite conclusions in this respect.

¹VH, 35, 28-49, 19, *The Vasudeva*, 595-614

²4, 213-16.

³4, 83a-93

⁴See Alsdorf, 'A New Version of Agadadatta Story,' *New Indian Antiquary*, I, V, August, 1938, pp. 281-299.

The Story of Muni Viṣṇukumāra

The earliest form of the story is found in the *Vasudevahindī*.¹ The story has been narrated in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa literature following different traditions. Jināsena (8th century AD) in his *Harivamśapurāṇa*,² Guṇabhadra (9th century AD) in his *Uttarapurāṇa*,³ Hariṣena (10th century AD) in his *Brhatkathākośa*,⁴ Puṣpadanta (10th century) in his *Mahāpurāṇa*,⁵ Nemicaṇḍa (11th century AD) in his commentary on the *Uttarādhyāyana*⁶ and Hemacaṇḍa (12th century AD) in his *triṣaṣṭiśālākāpuruṣacarita*⁷ have provided different versions of the story. The first four authors represent the Digambara tradition, whereas the last two, including the author of the *Vasudevahindī*, the Śvetāmbara one. It will be interesting to study how the legend went on being modified through different periods by different authors belonging to different sects.

There is an ancient Viṣṇu-Bali legend in the Vedic mythology. According to this, Bali was a powerful demon, who oppressed the gods. They approached God Viṣṇu for help. Viṣṇu descended on the earth, assuming the form of a dwarf. Disguised as a mendicant, he visited Bali and begged of him as much earth as he could cover in his three steps. When his request was granted, Viṣṇu assumed a mighty form and covered the entire earth with his first step, all the heavens with his second one, and the third he stepped directly on Bali's head. Viṣṇu punished Bali by sending him to the underworld. Budhasvāmin while describing the marriage of Gandharvadattā in the seventeenth *sarga* of his *Brhatkathāślokaśaṅgraha* (c. 5th century AD) has noted the Viṣṇu-Bali legend as follows: "In ancient times, Viṣṇu, the holder of the disc, took the form of a dwarf in order to humble the demon Bali and overpowered the heaven with three steps."⁸

The author of the *Vasudevahindī* in the context of Gandharvadattā's marriage, while tracing the origin of the *Viṣṇu-gītikā*⁹ song,

¹VH, 128, 18-132, 3, *The Vasudeva*, 658-669, 41-44.

²20, 1-65.

³70, 274-300.

⁴11, pp 18-22.

⁵LXXXIII, 14-20.

⁶18, 249.

⁷VI, 8.

⁸XVII, 112-114.

⁹The regular history of the song has been told in the *Brhatkathāślokaśaṅgraha*, XVII, 115-116.

narrates the following Jain legend: Namuci, the minister of king Mahāpadma of Hastināpura, was hostile to Jain monks and started giving them trouble. Thereupon the sage Viṣṇu was called to rescue the monks. He asked the minister to grant him space for three steps so that the Jain monks could live peacefully. The minister reluctantly agreed. Viṣṇu flared up his body, he placed his right foot on the peak of Mount Mandara and the whole earth began to tremble.

The story of sage Viṣṇu (or Viṣṇukumāra according to later writers), described in Jain works shows how non-Jain legends were adapted by Jains.¹ Here the Vedic God Viṣṇu has been conveniently transformed into the Jain monk Viṣṇu and the demon Bali to the minister Namuci. The covering of the three worlds in three strides is not mentioned in the *Vasudevahindī*, but it is noteworthy that the later Jain writers accepted the Brahmanic tradition almost verbally. Jināsena, for example, mentions Bali as one of the four ministers of the king. The sage Viṣṇukumāra asks Bali to permit him three steps on the earth. He takes one step on the Mount Meru, the other on the Mount Mānuṣottara, and as there was no space left for the third one, he moves it round and round in the heaven. According to Gunabhadra, Viṣṇukumāra assumes the form of a dwarf Brahman and asks Bali for three steps on the earth. Nemīcandra and Hemacandra, both following the Śvetāmbara tradition, go still further, addressing the sage Viṣṇu by the purifying name *Trivikrama* (three steps) in his dwarf incarnation. A comparative study of the legend will further help us to understand the origin and development of the story.

The Parable of the Honey-Drop

The earliest reference to the Parable is found in the *Vasudevahindī*.² It has also been mentioned in Haribhadra's *Samāraiccatkāhā*,³ Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā* and Hemacandra's *Parīśistaparvan*.⁴ The oldest Indian version of the parable is noticed in the *Strīparva* (5-6) of the *Mahābhārata*. Besides Jain, Brahman and

¹For detail see the author's article, 'The Adaptation of Viṣṇu-Bali Legend by Jain writers' *JOI*, XXIX, nos. 3-4, March-June 1980.

²8, 3-23

³2, 134-39

⁴2, 191-219

Buddhist versions of the story, it was popular also with Christians and Jews.¹ The parable has been called a piece of Indian ascetic poetry by Winternitz.

The Hawk and the Dove Story

The hawk and the dove story is another example of Indian ascetic poetry. It is a story of self-sacrifice and abnegation which has been narrated in the *Vasudevahindī*.² When king Mahāratha provided refuge to the dove, the hawk flew there and demanded of the king to surrender his prey. Thereupon the kind-hearted king offered to give the hawk his flesh instead. The story is partly in prose and partly in verse. The same story is noticed in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*³ except that the king's name is Śibi. In the *Mahābhārata*⁴ the king offers his flesh and blood to save the life of a pigeon. In the *Sivi-Jātaka* (No. 499) the self-sacrificing king Sivi tears out both his eyes and offers them to a beggar. In the *Avadānaśataka* (No. 34) king Sivi cuts his skin with a knife in order to satisfy the stinging flies. A slightly different version of the story is narrated in the *Mahābhārata*⁵ and the *Pañcākhyāna*⁶ in verses.⁷ It is known as "The Huntsman and the Doves" story.

The Story of Sodāsa, the Man-eater

The story is still another example of Indian ascetic poetry. Besides in the *Vasudevahindī*,⁸ the story is found in Vimalasūri's *Pāmacariya*,⁹ Raviṣena's *Padmacarita*,¹⁰ Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭisādhakāpurusacarita*¹¹ and Somaprabha's *Kumāravālāpadiboha*.¹² These versions slightly differ from each other; their comparative study

¹Prof. E. Kuhn, *Festgruss on Otto von Böhltingk*, Stuttgart, 1888, pp. 68ff., after Jacobi, *Part*, p. xxxvii, fn.

²337, 5-338, 4 ³1.68-107

⁴III, 100f, 197, XIII 32

⁵XII, 143-49. For different versions in the *MBH*, see Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, I, 409f.

⁶Book III, Tale viii, pp. 200-204.

⁷See the author's article "Some Old Tales and Episodes in the *Vasudevahindī*", *ABORI*, 60, 1979.

⁸197, 5-21; *The Vasudeva*, 242f.

⁹22.72-78, 90.

¹⁰22 132-148

¹¹7 4 85-100

¹²I, 37, also see *Bhattacharinnā*, 145-46; Haribhadra, *Avā. Tī.*, ii, 401f.; *BKK*, 115.

will be fruitful in understanding the development of Prakrit language and literature.¹ The Buddhist version of the story is found in the *Mahāsutasoma-Jātaka* (No. 537), the *Jātakamālā* (story 31) and Chinese and Tibetan literature.²

The Story of Kuberadatta and Kuberadattā

In this story a courtesan married her own son. The story is narrated in the *Vasudevahindī*,³ the *Kattigeyānuvekkhā*⁴ and the *Parīśiṣṭaparvan*.⁵ It can be compared with the story of Utpalavarnā in Buddhist literature.⁶

The Story of Prasannacandra and Valkalacirin

The story is important from the point of view of world literature. It occurs in the *Vasudevahindī*,⁷ the *Āvasyaka Nirvyukti*,⁸ the *Āvās-yaka Cūṛṇī*⁹ (quoted verbatim from the *Vasudevahindī*) and the *Parīśiṣṭaparvan*.¹⁰ The narration is noticed with variation in Bāla-kāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyana*,¹¹ the *Āranyakaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*,¹² and several Buddhist works, including Tibetan and Chinese translations. Valkalacirin of Jains is called Rśyaśṛṅga (meaning gazellehorn; Isisinga in Pali) in the *Rāmāyana* and Ekaśṛṅga (meaning unicorn) in the *Mahāvastu*,¹³ D. Schlingloff connects the Jain version of the story with that of the Gilgamesh epic of Babylon. According to him, the Ekaśṛṅga version of the *Mahāvastu* has migrated to the West where unicorn got an eminent position among the legendary creatures of the middle ages.¹⁴

¹See von Frank-Richard Hamm, 'Jaina-Versionen der Sodāsa-Sage,' *Beiträge zur Indischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, Walter Schubring Zum 70 Geburtstag, Hamburg, 1951, Jan de Jong, 'Three Notes on the Vasudevahindī,' *Studia Indologica*, 1954

²See *The Vasudeva*, 342n, Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, I, 132

³10,27-12,12, *The Vasudeva*, 564-66,

⁴64-65 ⁵2,293-306

⁶See Ralston, the Tale of Utpalavarnā in *Tibetan Tales*, London, 1882

⁷16,16-50 2, *The Vasudeva*, 570-77

⁸1164 ⁹456-60

¹⁰1 91-258 ¹¹*Sarga* (8-10)

¹²III, 3, 110 1-3 113 25, Poona, 1942

¹³III, pp 136-47, London, 1956

¹⁴See his article 'The Unicorn Origin and Migration of Indian Legend' *German Scholars of India*, I, pp 254ff, Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, I, pp 399ff, 540,

The Story of Quarrel between two Mothers

It is another popular story connected with world literature. It is found in the *Vasudevahiṇḍī*.¹ With slight variation it is narrated in the *Mahā-Ummagga-Jātaka* (No. 546). It also occurs in the *Holy Bible*² where a sword is used instead of a saw as in the *Vasudevahiṇḍī*.

The Story of five rice-grains

It also belongs to the category of World literature. The story occurs in the *Nāyādharmakāha*.³ E. Leumann has pointed out a corresponding story in Matthew (25.14-30) and Luke (19.12-27) of the *New Testament*; Gustav Roth traces its origin in the Hebrew Gospel which is of more antiquity than Matthew⁴ and Luke.

There are innumerable popular tales in Prakrit which need a wide study at the hands of Indologists, particularly with reference to the modern researches carried out in the field of Anthropology. It is a stupendous task no doubt but can be taken up by a team of scholars on the lines of Bloomfield's plan of preparing an Encyclopedia on the treatment of motifs.⁵ The present writer had suggested the need of such a work as far back as in 1970 while delivering a course of lectures on Prakrit Jain narrative literature in the L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad,⁶ but unfortunately nothing has come out so far.

LOST NARRATIVE LITERATURE

As indicated earlier, a number of important Jain narrative works have been lost to us, or are not available, or remain still unpublished. We have mentioned about the *Naravāhanadattakathā*, the *Taraṅgavaikathā*, the *Malayavaṭī*, the *Magadhasenā*, the *Dhuttakkhāna*, and the *Cepakakathā* which are not available.⁷ The *Bandhumatī* and the

¹354, 12-19, *The Vasudeva*, 524f.

²*Kings*, 3. 26-28 ³7

⁴See his article 'The Similes of the Entrusted Five Rice-Grains and their parallels', *German Scholars of India*, I, pp 234-44.

⁵For details see *JAOS*, 36, 54 ff

⁶These lectures have been published under the title; *Prakrit Jain Katha Sahitya*, Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Bharatiya Sanskriti Vidyā Mandir, Ahmedabad, 1971

⁷See *supra*, p. 22.

Sulocanā can be added to the list.¹ The *Malayasundarikāhā* contains love story of Mahābala and Malayasundarī. Dharmacandra brought out an abridged Sanskrit form of the story in the 14th century AD.² The *Nirvāṇalīlāvāṇikāhā* by celebrated Jmeśvarasūri is another important work which is not available. However, its Sanskrit rendering in verses, under the title *Līlavatīsāra* by Jinaratna (13th century AD) is preserved in Jaisalmer Bhandar.³ The *Vasudevacaṇṇita* by Bhadrabāhu is not available. The *Bhuvanasundarikāhā* by Vijaya-simha was composed in the 10th century AD; it is yet to be published. Besides, a large number of Prakrit story works are lying in Jain Bhandaras awaiting publication. Their names are available to us from catalogues like the *Bṛhaṭṭippanikā*,⁴ *Jain Granthāvalī*⁵ and the *Jinaratnakośa* edited by H. D. Velenkar.⁶ Jains also composed biographical literature containing the life of great personalities. Besides comprising the life of preceptors, teachers, rulers, ministers and *śreṣṭhins*, it covered the biography of pious and virtuous women such as Candanabālā, Rājimatī, Sītā, Jayantī, Sulasā, Subhadrā, Añjanā, Damayantī, Śīlavatī, Anangasundarī, Guṇasundarī, Rohiṇī, Sudarśanā and so on.⁷ Most of them are available only in manuscripts.

WRITING IN SANSKRIT AND REGIONAL LANGUAGES

Narrative literature was also composed in Sanskrit, Apabhraṃśa, Old Gujarati and Old Hindi. Sanskrit literature flourished during the Gupta period, a golden period for the advancement of learning and scholarship. As Sanskrit came into more and more prominence, Jain authors too adopted it for their writings. Emphasising the need of Sanskrit, Siddharṣi (beginning of the 10th century AD) has remarked, "Sanskrit has settled in the minds of wrong-headed people and they do not relish Prakrit which enlightens the ignorant

¹PJKS, 26 ²PSI, 476 ³ibid, 440.

⁴After inspecting the Jain Bhandaras at Patan, Cambay, Baroach, Devapattana and other places, some scholars had prepared a very important list of Jain works. It is known as *Bṛhaṭṭippanikā*, published in the *Jain Sahitya Samśodhaka*, II, part 2.

⁵Published by the Jain Śvetāmbara Conference, Bombay, VS, 1965.

⁶Published by the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona, 1944. Also see PSI 356-572, Gulabchandra Chaudhary, JSBI, VI, 31-391.

⁷PSI, 489; JSBI, VI, 334-60.

and is pleasant to ear. In the circumstances, if possible, one should delight the heart of all by writing in Sanskrit. During this period Siddharṣi composed his *Upamitibhavaprapaṇcīkathā*, Dhanapala his *Tilakamañjarī*, Hariṣeṇa his *Brhatkathākośa*, Somadeva his *Yajñatīlaka campu*, Hemacandra his *Triṣaṣṭīśālākāpuruṣacarita* and so on. Later Lakṣmīvallabha, furnished Sanskrit rendering of Prakrit stories in his commentary on the *Uttarādhyāyana*.

In the 10th century AD Prakrit was replaced by apabhraṃśa and particularly Digambaras contributed a good deal by their writings. Later Jain writers approached the common people through the medium of Old Hindi, Old Gujarati, Rajasthani, Kannaḍa, Tamil and other regional languages. In course of time, these languages became a rich treasure-house of *Deśī* words. Hemacandra's *Deśī-nāmamālā* is the largest collection of Prakrit, Apabhraṃśa and *deśī* words available in the northern modern Indian languages. It is most valuable for the study of Middle Indo-Aryan and the New Indo-Aryan languages.¹

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

Prakrit Jain narrative literature is a part of the history of Indian thought, religion, customs and practices. It depicts the realistic life of common people Jain authors through their popular writings and progressive outlook have contributed a good deal to the development of Indian society. As Winternitz has remarked, Indian stories are the best product of the Indian mind and they have occupied the status of literature. According to him, the Indian soil is favourable for the tales and stories and particularly for animal tales. In order to satisfy the excessive imaginary faculty, the Indian story-tellers had to create a superhuman existence. India had been a home of saints, wandering ascetics and pilgrims, therefore in order to propagate religion and virtue, the writers had to take up to the narrative literature.²

Prakrit Jain tales and stories reflect the social necessity, otherwise they would have not gone into a variety of details as observed

¹For some important words used in Prakrit works, see *PSI*, App. I, 693-702, *Jain Agam Sahitya men Bharatiya Samaj*, App. III, 526-541.

²*A History of Indian Literature*, III, I, 301, 331, 303.

earlier. They cover a wide range of period of about 2000 years, i.e., from the 6th century BC to the 15th century AD. A cultural history of India, distinct from a series of historical episodes, has still to be written taking into view the presentation of chronological order of successive changes that had taken place from time to time in Indian society. In order to achieve this object, one has to study India's past as well as the present in a co-related manner, that is to say, the present has to be studied in the light of the past and the past in the light of the present. To present an overall view of India's cultural history, it is essential to make an analytical study of socio-economic conditions reflected in Prakrit Jain narrative literature, a major portion of which remains still unexplored. This literature is replete with treasure of information particularly contained in the *Cūrṇi* literature in the form of customs and usages prevalent in different regions, providing explanation of certain terms which is not available anywhere else.

Indian writers with their broad progressive outlook tried to rationalise their thoughts by means of debates and discussions. They propounded hypotheses, assimilated them, but also rejected them no sooner they found them outmoded, while facing the new situation. The same thing happened with regard to the growth and development of Prakrit Jain narrative literature. When the interest of the readers, for example, lessened in Hindu mythological stories, Jain writers gave a new twist to the narrative literature by introducing new concepts. In their writings they incorporated popular stories pertaining to reality of life appreciated by common people. They composed their own *Rāmāyana* and *Mahābhārata* and the life story of great personalities.

The study of Prakrit Jain narrative literature is also fruitful in understanding the origin and development of new Indo-Aryan languages, such as Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi, Bengali, Punjabi, Sindhi, Kashmiri, Oriya, Assamese, Nepalese and so on.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

1 So far the study of Prakrit has been neglected. Its systematic study should be encouraged at University level.

2 A critical study of Prakrit narrative literature should be undertaken by scholars. Arrangement should be made to publish import-

ant manuscripts on the subject lying in Jain Bhandaras and Mathas.

3. An Encyclopaedia of Prakrit stories is a necessity of the day.

4. A fresh attempt should be made to make a thorough survey of the tribal areas, particularly in the regions of West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

5. To make use of the material available in Kannaḍa, the Jain Mathas in Kannaḍa region, particularly in Moodbidri, Karkal and other places, should be visited (the author had made a trip to Moodbidri and Shravana Belgola during the period of working on his research project The Bharatiya Jñānapēeth, Kashi has published a list of palm-leaf manuscripts of Jain Mathas in Moodbidri, Karkal and other places of the Kannaḍa region in 1948).

IMPORTANT WORK DONE ON THE SUBJECT

1. Western scholars like Jacobi, Hertel, Bloomfield, W. Norman Brown, Emeneau, Tawney, Penzer, Winternitz and others have contributed a great deal almost till the end of the third decade of the twentieth century

2 Muni Punyaviḡayajī and Muni Jinaviḡayajī have brought out critical editions of important Prakrit narrative works published in the Prakrit Jain Text Society and the Singhi Jain Series.

3 The publication of the following works can be noted:

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. *Prakrit Sahitya Ka Itihas*, 1961.

: *Jain Agam Sahitya men Bharatiya Samaj*, 1965.

: *Do Hazar Baras Purani Kahaniyan*, 1965.

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- AJP American Journal of Philology
- ABORI Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute
Indian Culture.
- JAOS Journal of American Oriental Society.
- JBORS Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society
- JOIB Journal of the Oriental Institute Baroda.
- JRAS Journal of Royal Asiatic Society.
- IHQ Indian Historical Quarterly
- New Indian Antiquary*
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Errata

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- 3 25 read totemism
 5 4 read Majjhimakhaṇḍa
 5 n 3 read *Pari* for *Piṭhikā*
 7 25 read end for and
 10 20 read Reglan
 12 24 read or for of
 13 n 4 read Upadhye
 15 n 4 read 13-159 for 15-159
 9 16 read Tiruttakadevar
 17 19 read Tiruttakadevar
 40 10 read Tiruttakadevar
 49 n 3 read Tiruttakadevar
 18 30 read face for face
 18 31 read "As Lakṣmī, for "As
 Lakṣmī"
 19 3 read embracing
 19 15 read begun "
 21 4 read (5 7 15) for (5 715)
 22 16 read efficacy
 22 n 2, 3, 4, 5, read for 3, 4, 7, 9
 23 n 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, read for 2, 18, 7,
 10, 27
 25 34 read Vādivetāla
 27 17 read Paumacariya
 30 n 2 read Nāyā for 108 Nāyā
 30 n 4 & 6 read Āva for Āve
 31 33 read flammers of for flammers, of
 31 n 2 read Thā, 4.271
 32 n 1 read 9 21 for 2.21
 35 14 read-samālā) for-samālā
 35 n 1 read PSI
 39 n 1 read Upadhye
 39 read Vaddārādhane
 40 8 read unknown)
 40 10 read Tiruttakadevar
 42 n 2 read mentioned.
 45 11 read Lisor,

Page Line

- 46 n 1 read Triṣaṭṭisālākāpuroṣaca-
 rita
 47 11 read Dhammilla
 48 16 read effect"
 50 n 3 read Ārādhana
 50 n 3 *Pari* (2.646ff);
 51 n 4 read Gaston for Caston
 51 n 4 read II, 130n for I, 130n
 51 n 5 read 315ff for 315-15
 51 n 9 read Āva
 56 12 read kalpavyākṣas
 56 n 1 read a girl
 58 n 1 read 73.226
 62 n 9 read Āva
 63 2 read serpent
 63 27 read body
 63 n 1 read 26-169, 2
 63 n 1 read Mitralābha
 65 9 read Cakra for Cadra
 66 15 read feigned for reigned
 69 n 10 read p. 50 for p. 60
 70 14 read information " for infor-
 mation. "This
 71 n 10 read giriśuka
 72 6 read Karakaṇḍacariya
 73 n 8 read Pargana
 76 n 3 read *bhārunda*
 77 9 read people.
 77 n 5 read Dharmopa ...
 79 26 read held
 80 n 2 read Schiefner,
 82 18 read lion
 83 n 5 read KSS II, 237 for *Pari*,
 446-449
 112 9 read Bharata." Then
 112 29 read brides."
 112 34 read flames?" for flames?"

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120 14	read life." But		VH, 288n
124	last foot-note read 39 and 44 for 39, 44 and 45	164 35	read make it for make it,
125 4	read Iiā*	168 11	read (<i>asandīna</i>)
125 4	read Vidyā for Vidyā*	168 26	read Kāñcīpura
125 8	read Timisrakeśi for Timisra-kesi*	169 3	read Kāñcīpurī
126 n 1	read Indra's flag	169 31	read Dhakka
128 n 6	read Sū 1	169 32	read 'eham' for 'evam'
129 8	read Gaṇḍitinduga	172 27	read <i>Periplus of the Erythrean Sea</i> for <i>Periplus in the Erythrean Sea</i>
129 8	read Tinduga	175 1	read Haribhadra
132 18	read curlew bird	178 27	read Supurusacariya,
132 21	read She for He	179 4	read Bhadreśvara for Bhara-teśvara
133 21	read assembly-halls		
137 7	read of for on	182 10	read instance
141 28	read Vāgbhaṭa	186 13	read accomplisher's wife
141 31	read Isattha	186 18	read Dom in Hindi
148 3	read Bhadreśvara	188 15-16	read Skanda (associated with sheep, ram and sword) should be read as <i>Skanda</i> (associated with <i>Kumara</i>), <i>Visakha</i> (associated with sheep, ram, Kumara and sword), See page 124, lines 20-22 (above)
150 n 1	read Viyāha		
152 n 5	read JSBI, V, for ibid,		
153 n 5	read The Vasudeva, 198n for VH, 196n		
156	between line 10 and 11, insert <i>Vatsa</i> (in column 1) and <i>Kauśāmbī</i> (in column 2)		
159 n 2	read The Vasudeva, 288n for		

